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**ESTATE MANAGEMENT
AT GOODWOOD
IN THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY:
A STUDY OF CHANGING ROLES
AND RELATIONSHIPS**

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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ESTATE MANAGEMENT AT GOODWOOD IN THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY:
A STUDY OF CHANGING ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS

This is an investigation of management in the mid-nineteenth century, and of changing roles and relationships of key figures on the Goodwood Estate. The study examines the workings of an estate belonging to the fifth Duke of Richmond, a committed protectionist during the period when he had to come to terms with the Repeal of the Corn Laws. It considers the Duke's paternalism as expressed in his attitude to Repeal, in the daily running of his own estate, in his dealings with agents, farmers, estate workers and the local townspeople of Chichester.

Richmond's paternalism was concerned with the moral improvement of those within his sphere, and the study examines the estate's financial resources which supported that paternalism, and the management structure which the fifth Duke created. The role of agent at Goodwood was particularly significant, and displayed change at a time of development for the estate, when a management hierarchy began to develop. The balances of rural society which Richmond maintained were in potential conflict with his task of leading improved agriculture. Such improvement needed dynamic change, which was not encouraged in a highly traditional, rural context such as the west of Sussex.

The study tests Ernle's concept of the golden age against the evidence from estate papers, particularly in the light of the depression of 1849-1853. Efficiency in the Duke's own farming was not enough: there was a need to spread agricultural improvement among his tenant farmers. Farms, farmers and farming practice indicate that the spread of good practice was no easy task, and that progress was made by employing a variety of tactics. The estate was subject to a variety of pressures which impinged on its authority structure, and the mid-century was far from being a time of untroubled progress and unqualified prosperity.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations for journals and newspapers are used:

Ag.Hist - Agricultural History Review; E.H.R. - English History Review; Ec.H.R. - Economic History Review; J.P.S. - Journal of Peasant Studies; J.R.A.S.E. - Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England; S.A.C. - Sussex Agricultural Collections; S.A.E. - Sussex Agricultural Express; S.N.Q. - Sussex Notes and Queries; W.S.G. - West Sussex Gazette.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

In 1959, Asa Briggs called the third quarter of the nineteenth century 'one of the
1
least studied periods in English history'. Nine years later, E.L.Jones commented
on a healthily growing volume of literature on the subject but concluded that the
writings were still 'at an awkward, in-between stage', for coverage of English
agriculture was neither comprehensive, nor was it sufficiently focused to
2
provide a series of ready made debates round which a survey might be arranged'. To
some extent, Jones's judgement might be said to hold good today since even now, no
such series presents itself. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify several areas
which have occupied historians in their attempts to explore issues appertaining to
agriculture in the mid-Victorian period.

Three of these have a direct bearing on the workings of a great estate in the mid
nineteenth century and are related to how far any landlord was able to implement his
philosophy. First, the landowner's political and social position; second, his role
as leader of agricultural improvement; and third an economic weakening of the
landowner's position during the period. Interesting as each of these factors is
individually, collectively they indicate potential conflict, anomaly and choices
which might result in confusion and contradiction when translated into practical
terms in the daily running of a great estate.

1. A.Briggs, Victorian Cities, 1959, p.9.
2. E.L.Jones, The Development of English Agriculture 1815-73, 1968, p.9.

Although the importance of great estates has been acknowledged, little is known about their detailed internal workings. It is true that they were by no means the only kind of landholding, but they did constitute one type and, as Mingay has shown, landed estates and their tenants occupied 85-90% of English and Welsh farmland during the period.¹ This represented a significant area of nineteenth century life and social organisation. In the examination of the workings of the great estates, the role of the agent is of prime importance. Nevertheless, despite their importance, agents as people, their methods of working, the scope of their powers and duties, and their relationships with farmers and landowner remain shadowy and there are present misconceptions which this study hopes to correct.

Most in-depth studies of estates have concentrated on the role and position of the great landowner and few on estate management. Consequently, what we might call middle management has been a much neglected layer in rural society, and one of the aims of this study is to examine how the Goodwood Estate was managed in the middle years of the nineteenth century. The framework created by an estate needed to incorporate a permanent management structure, including a competent and progressive land agent or steward. Martins found that the the impetus and support of such agents was important in sustaining the Holkham farmers.² Beastall's work on other Lincolnshire estates also concluded that agents were significant figures in improvement and Adams demonstrated that progressive estates depended upon the growth

1. G. Mingay (ed), The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.14.

2. S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, pp.72,126.

1

of a class of professional agents. Confirmation of this may be found in descriptions of other estates. Both Havinden and Acland showed the beneficial effects of agent support, and Kerr showed what damage could be done where this support was not forthcoming.² Yet there are gaps in the literature. Investigations of the activities of agents, have tended to be of individuals who were either very good, neglectful, fraudulent or inefficient. Useful as such studies are, they do tend to concentrate on exceptional situations, they ignore the long term effects of individual agents and they frequently fail to examine the parameters of the role and the resulting interaction with other personnel. By examining the actions and practices of the four agents who filled the post at Goodwood between 1846 and 1860, I hope to illustrate the long term effects of estate management, and to provide evidence which helps to fill some significant gaps in current knowledge.³

This is a study of estate management on the Goodwood estate in the mid nineteenth century, exploring the process of change which was at work. Such was the variety of situation, size and circumstance of estates, it is difficult to identify whether Goodwood was typical. Many estates which received historians' attention did so because they were unusually large, rich, innovative or disastrously in debt. Goodwood was not in the first rank in terms of acreage or capital; it suffered no sudden changes in ownership; was far from areas of great industrialisation and was run by a landowner who, by the mid century, was less than dynamic in seizing

1. T.W.Beastall, Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire, 1978, p.94; M.Adams, Agricultural Change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: an economic and social history, Unpub. Ph.D.thesis, Hull, 1978, p.269.
2. M.A.Havinden, Estate Villages, 1966, p.80; A.Acland, A Devon Family, 1981, p.46; B.Kerr, Bound to the Soil, 1968, p.210.
3. Goodwood ms 1862/3, Letters from J.Rusbridger to Richmond; E6103, Letter Book of T. Balmer, 1850-3; E6104/5, Letter Books of R.Arras 1853-8; E5112, opening of account with Captain Valentine, June 1858.

opportunities for the development of the estate. Consequently, it is probably representative of a particular type of estate which was quite common. The western part of Sussex in which Goodwood is situated provided few alternatives to agricultural employment, and Carlton suggested that the power of the landowners remained greatest in such circumstances.¹ The position of the fifth Duke of Richmond is thus of particular significance, especially after Repeal, when he decided to spend more time at Goodwood, and made the estate his priority from that point to his death in 1860.²

Goodwood and other western Sussex estates have received little attention from historians of the mid nineteenth century. Even Thompson's work contained no documentary evidence from the Sussex estates.³ Nevertheless, the Goodwood Papers provide a wide range of evidence dating from the period. Estate daybooks and time books; accounts and pass books; letters and letter books from the agents; rentals and agreements are all available to draw on. In addition, there is the substantial personal correspondence of the fifth and sixth Dukes of Richmond, and local newspapers and papers from the nearby Cowdray and Petworth estates to provide reference points. The processes of change in agriculture and in estate management which this material reveals indicates that, piecemeal as it was, change affected the roles of all who were involved in agriculture from landlord to labourer, their relationships with each other and interaction between estate and rural society.

1. B.F. Carlton, A substantial and sterling friend to the labouring man': the Kent and Sussex labourers' union, 1872-95. Unpub.M.Phil.thesis, Sussex, 1977, p.28.

2. F. Steer and J.A. Venables, The Goodwood Estate Archives, vol.2, 1972, pp.xvi and xvii; See Figure 3.

3. F.M.L.Thompson English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963. See map on p.xiii, where 'All except the shaded counties are represented by documentary material in the study', p.xii. Although Arundel, Goodwood and Petworth are mentioned by name, Sussex is one of the shaded counties.

estate and rural society. Given the roles and relationships which existed at Goodwood, it is not surprising that changes were slow and not always immediately apparent, but they were implicit, even if their explicit manifestations were to come later.

This study uses mainly the Goodwood estate papers. Accounts, cash and bank pass books have been studied to ascertain the financial framework within which the estate operated. Farm valuations, measurements, accounts and agreements have been extensively considered alongside agents' letter books, newspaper evidence and the correspondence of the fifth Duke of Richmond to build up a picture of life on the estate and the relationships which existed on the estate. The time consuming nature of working through a vast number of estate papers may hitherto have deterred others from working on the Goodwood Papers. Here they are set alongside newspaper and other contemporary evidence.

The approach to this study has been to examine the context in which the Goodwood Estate operated; to take some of the key people whose roles changed during the mid century, from the Duke of Richmond down through the agents to tenants and workers on the estate, and to show how those changes affected management and farming practice on an estate in a rural county. Frequently, change produced conflict between custom, expectation and the new commercial ethic. The Duke of Richmond faced a dilemma as new ideas and practices which might bring prosperity also meant that change might weaken that very rural society which had placed them at its head. Examination of the position of the fifth Duke of Richmond in Sussex society is important to the study,

since no estate can be considered outside the context in which it was set, and relationships between estate and town, regional and national perspectives are important.

The pressures which acted on authority structures of nineteenth century estates in the middle decades have largely been ignored by historians. This is partly explained by the too ready acceptance of the term 'golden age', first used to describe agriculture in the middle decades of the nineteenth century by Lord Ernle in his book, English Farming, Past and Present, published in 1912.¹ It depends too on the fact that the quarter century after Repeal has received far less attention than that which preceded or succeeded it. Where the decades of the mid century were considered, it was often in the context of the new urban developments, largely ignoring aspects of rural life, and passing over estates as tranquil and prosperous enterprises. This study will show that, far from being areas of untroubled prosperity, nineteenth century estates were subject to a variety of pressures which impinged upon their authority structures and produced a complex network of shifts in roles and relationships in the mid century. These pressures did not exist as a set of clearly worked out measures, consistently applied from one source. Although they were in operation through the fifties and sixties, many had their origins in the preceding decades; in the mechanisms which were set up to cope with them; or in the traditional institutions of estate and town, which were finding it difficult to cope with the changing situation. Repeal itself, the professionalisation of management,

1. Lord Ernle, English Farming Past and Present, 1912, 6th edn, 1961, p.373.

and pressures from the commercial sector, all demanded a rethink of the estate's authority structure to accommodate new developments and required corresponding shifts in the landowner's role.

Ernle's description of the fifties and sixties as a 'golden age' has had a powerful effect on writers of nineteenth century history. Had this phrase been merely a whim of Ernle's, it would not have gained the hold on the imagination that it so quickly achieved.¹ What it did was to sum up succinctly a picture of agriculture in the mid century which had been built up and accepted by writers on agricultural topics between the mid century and the point when Ernle was writing in 1912. The optimism of the mid century and the drive for agricultural improvement are well documented and show how the mid Victorians set up mechanisms to disseminate improvement in a way which involved and depended heavily upon great estates and their owners.²

A landed gentleman himself, Ernle probably saw in the mid century many characteristics which, for the twentieth century aristocrat and for the twentieth century farmer had gone for ever. Optimism amongst farmers had largely vanished and shifts in the relative importance of agriculture as compared to other industries had taken place.³ Whereas agriculture had been the largest single employer in 1851, it occupied only about 8% of the population in 1911, and employed fewer workers than the

1. Lord Ernle English Farming Past and Present, 1912, 6th edn, 1961, p.373.

2. P.J.Perry, 'High Farming in Victorian Britain: prospect and retrospect', Aq Hist vol.55, 3, 1981, p.158.

3. W.H.B.Court, A Concise Economic History of Britain, 1954, p.206

mining industry. There seemed to be a lack of leadership in agricultural life. Outwardly rural society remained unchanging but in reality, the erosion of economic and political power robbed the countryside of those who had been the driving force in more prosperous times. Hence the term 'golden age' confirmed a view of the mid nineteenth century as containing all those elements which were lacking in 1912, and was taken up by many historians as the key phrase to describe the period. Outline histories and detailed studies alike embraced the concept. Court suggested that British farming was 'the model for the rest of the world', Young that the decade from the mid fifties represented 'roaring, slapdash prosperity' and Martin that the time reflected 'the glow of fortune and the tide of wealth'.¹ Carlton referred to an increase in acreage 'as the golden age of British farming dawned in the 1850s', and Jones that the time from the early 1850s to the 1870s represents 'the most² conspicuous hump in the line of English agricultural prosperity.'.

Although there is a body of writing which supports a totally optimistic view of mid century agriculture, there are also indications of pressures. The uncertainties of farming, how improvement could best be approached and the gap between exhortation and implementation caused contemporary writers to be concerned. Tension existed too between agricultural and commercial worlds. Agriculture had much to learn from commerce, but there was debate as to how much could be translated from one sphere to the other. A brief survey of the literature may be helpful in placing in context the

1. W.H.B.Court, A Concise Economic History of Britain, 1954, p.207; G.M.Young, Portrait of an Age, 1936, 1977 edn., p.120; E.W.Martin, The Secret People, 1954, p.140.

2. B.F.Carlton, A substantial and sterling friend to the labouring man: the Kent and Sussex labourers' union, 1872-95. Unpub.M.Phil.thesis, Sussex, 1977, p.20; E.L.Jones, The Changing Basis of English Agricultural Prosperity, originally Ag.Hist. vols.VIII and X, 1960/1962, reprinted in Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, p.191.

19th century material which will be used in the study.

Concentration on positive factors began in the fifties. That great statement of national confidence, the Great Exhibition, opened the decade and, although concerned primarily with manufacturing, its popularisation went beyond the commercial sphere, feeding the mood of national confidence. Protectionism, at least in the sphere of national debate, was forgotten early in the fifties, and optimism continued into the following decade. Some writers felt that the progressive curve which they were witnessing would stretch ever upward with the secure position of the landed estate as its basis. Sanford and Townsend commented 'In another hundred years or so, these thirty one families will be marked and ticketed families among 200 millions of English speaking men.'¹

Attitudes to Repeal became more positive - even on the part of its opponents. After the bad harvests which began the sixties the once Protectionist West Sussex Gazette declared that 'It cannot be told what fabulous prices bread would have reached had we not been able to receive into our own ports the corn of other countries...We should have had bread at a famine cost... the country could no longer have been governed peaceably, had the protective system been persisted in.'² Man seemed to have gained new autonomy through the coming of the railways, and other contributions from technology encouraged positive attitudes. Agriculture was no longer a local matter: shortages in one area could be supplemented from other areas, and optimism abounded.

1. J.L. Sanford and M. Townsend, The Great Governing Families of England, 1865, p.19.
2. W.S.G. July 18, 1861.

The drive for improvement seemed relentless. As early as 1844, Low stressed¹ efficiency and Boydell followed his example in 1849. Morton dealt directly with the² desirability of many kinds of farm improvements. Pressure to improve had been one of the chief motivations behind the formation of the Royal Agricultural Society, and annual meetings and exhibitions, competitions and articles in the society's Journal all had good and improved practice as their aim. Improvements formed a constant theme throughout the fifties and sixties - drainage; implements and machines; manures; livestock and so on were all the subject of much debate, with contributions from various parts of the country, so that the perspective was not one sided. Prize essays were written on agriculture in the counties and brought information on good practice which could be shared. County reports provided a regional focus, and³ competitions on topics of interest took place annually. The Farmers' Club, founded in 1842 and The Farmer and Stockbreeder, first published in 1843, had similar aims. The need for detailed knowledge and understanding was aided by articles, exhibitions and shows and, as the importance and benefits of the spread of good practice became more evident, responsibility for it was placed upon every 'gentleman and scholar, and true man of business in the country', whilst acknowledging the problems of doing so within the agricultural community, because it was so scattered. Pusey stressed the⁴ need for information to be disseminated and warned that 'Books will not teach farming, but if they describe the practices of the best farmers, they will make men

1. D.Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844; Boydell, A Treatise on Landed Property in its Geographical, Agricultural, Chemical, Mechanical and Political Relations, 1849.

2. J.L.Morton, The Resources of Estates, 1858, p.495.

3. J.Farncombe, 'On the Farming of Sussex', J.R.A.S.E. vol.11, 1850, p.75; H.Evershed, 'On the Farming of Surrey', J.R.A.S.E. vol.14, 1853.

4. See for example H.S.Thompson, 'Remarks on a J.A.S. competition for farm buildings' J.R.A.S.E. 1850, p.186; W.Good, Political, Agricultural and Commercial Fallacies, 1866, p.151.

think and show where to learn it.'¹ Such improvements came mainly from practitioners, but pressure also came to adopt new techniques from scientific sources and thus improve. Rowlandson advised on the improvement of soil, on whether land should be laid to arable or pasture and on how money could be made.² More information was becoming available on geology in works such as Dixon's and this encouraged a more scientific approach to farming, as did publications like John Constable's series of agricultural papers. From topics such as the manuring of grasslands to drainage, livestock and climate, the range was tremendous.³

Caird's survey of English farming, published in 1851, was enthusiastic, and Cox predicted that free trade would be bound to produce improvements, drawing evidence from the Lothians and the north of England, where interaction between farming and commercial sectors had already produced positive results.⁴ Written reports of the Royal Agricultural Society's shows underlined their positive aspects, and in 1853, H.S.Thompson reported that the Lewes Show displayed 'steady, satisfactory progress in all classes of implements from steam engine down to the 3/6d digging fork'.⁵ De Vere suggested that much could be done by farmers themselves, and encouraged those he wrote for to 'visit each other's farm: you can thus profit each from his neighbour's experience'.⁶

1. P.Pusey, What Ought Landlords and Farmers to Do?, 1851, p.151.

2. Rowlandson 'The Agricultural Geography of England and Wales', Journal of Agriculture, 1851-3.

3. Dixon, The Geology of Sussex, 1850; J.Constable, Practice With Science: a series of agricultural papers, 1867.

4. J.Caird, English Agriculture 1850/1, 1852, p.495; A.Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853, p.49.

5. H.S.Thompson, 'Report on the Exhibition and Trial of Implements at the Lewes Meeting, 1852', J.R.A.S.E., vol 13 1852, p.302.

6. S. de Vere Report after an inspection of the Mount Trenchard Estate, 1853, p.1.

Conscientious landowners saw improvement as one of their duties, and were urged to
¹
'lead improved agriculture'. Caird urged landlords to encourage their tenants,
grant good leases with liberal covenants, told farmers to embrace high farming,
²
exchange good practice and experiment with new ideas. He hoped that politicians
would help by legislating for the simple transfer of land, the safeguarding of
'improvements' made by tenants, by changing the law of entail, thus enabling owners
to rationalise and improve their estates. Despite the depressed price of land in
1857, Cross expected a slow, steady increase in land values to accompany the advent
of peace. He advised his readers to invest, for 'Land will never be cheaper than it
is now' and this was a common enough attitude amongst the landed interest to be
³
satirised by Trollope only a year after Cross was writing.

' "Ah, there's nothing like land", said Sir Louis, "nothing like the dirty acres,
is there, Squire?"

"Land is a very good investment, certainly," said Mr Gresham.
⁴
"The best going.", said the other.'

It might be a good financial investment, but the prestige of owning land was also
important. Even if there were better ways to invest money, land was regarded as
socially significant.

Lawrence saw landlord influence as important, and individual landowners did their
⁵
best to set examples to their fellows and publish their activities. The Duke of

1. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, Hints to the Charitable, 1838, quoted in D. Roberts Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.124.
2. J. Caird, High Farming Under Liberal Covenants, 1849.
3. F. Cross, Landed Property, its Sale, Purchase and General Management, 1857, p.17.
4. A.Trollope, Doctor Thorne, 1858, p.381.
5. Lawrence, 'On the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester', J.R.A.S.E. ser.2 vol.1, 1865.

Bedford carried out an enquiry into the cottages of his labourers on the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire estates and sent the results to the Earl of Chichester, President of the Royal Agricultural Society, declaring his aims to be to 'improve the dwellings of the labouring classes and afford them the means of greater cleanliness and comfort in their own homes;' and 'to extend education'.¹

This optimistic attitude was shared by J.J.Mechi, the agriculturist who claimed to have created intensive farming success out of what had been a wilderness, and wrote and lectured about his theories. How to Farm Profitably was published in 1857 and Mechi wrote enthusiastically of the part estates could play in the improvement of agriculture: they were to be providers of employment and augmenters of rental.² Improvements to estates would be bound to create new and extended markets, and Mechi's one proviso was that a portion of the rental should constantly be reinvested into the estate, taking up Caird's idea that landowners should provide encouragement in the form of new ideas and capital investment.³ To help them become more efficient managers, articles on accounting and rents were not neglected, and Bayldon encouraged the development of realistic and fair rentals.⁴ Morton urged landlords to encourage and reward improving tenants, and other writers stressed the importance of 'How they do things at the Hall'.⁵ The visible embodiment of their own farming philosophies, as seen in the Home Farms of estates, was encouraged by Bowick, the J.R.A.S. recording that 'We cannot tell how much agriculture owes to the stimulus imparted in former days by the Woburn or Holkham gatherings. Have not Torworth, Althorp and others done

1. Duke of Bedford, 'On Labourers Cottages', J.R.A.S.E. vol.10, 1849.

2. J.J.Mechi, How To Farm Profitably, 1857, p.11.

3. J. Caird, English Agriculture 1850/1, 1852, p.491.

4. Bayldon, The Art of Valuing Rents and Tillages, 1844, p.27.

5. T.Bowick 'On the Management of a Home Farm' J.R.A.S.E. vol.23, 1862, p.247.

1

much for the shorthorn, Goodwood for the southdown?'.¹

The need for estates to take part in dissemination was clear. Caird stressed that education and knowledge were necessities for landlord and tenant if agriculture were to progress, for the business of farming was becoming increasingly demanding.² Dean thought that 'the work of the farmer is no longer confined to that of the body, but extends to that of the heart, the mind and the pocket'.³ Yet despite exhortations, many questions remain unanswered. Writers recommended what should be done, but only detailed investigations on individual estates will show exactly how far these calls were answered in practice, how seriously an individual took his responsibility and what steps he took to implement improvement on his estate. The fifth Duke of Richmond provides a classic example of a landlord who accepted responsibility for improvement on his own farm and for the spread of information among his tenants. An article describing the Duke of Richmond's tree planting policies on his Scottish

4

Estates pointed to the value of forestry when developed by an improving landlord. It appeared in *The Transactions of the Highland Society*, and Richmond was also one of half a dozen improving landlords mentioned by Mechi in his book.⁵ The Duke's aims were clear, but the process and the personnel employed to realise them are neglected factors, and this study will fill in much needed detail in this area.

1. T.Bowick 'On the Management of a Home Farm' *J.R.A.S.E.* vol.23, 1862, p.247.

2. J. Caird, *English Agriculture, 1850-1851*, 1852, p.256.

3. G.A.Dean, *The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates*, 1872, p.141.

4. G.M. Huntly, 'Report on Plantations on the Estate of His Grace the Duke of Richmond in Aberdeenshire' in *Transactions of the Highland Society* new ser. 2, 1845-7, p.177.

5. J.J. Mechi, *How to Farm Profitably*, 1857, p.11.

warnings. Improvement had its critics: there were some agricultural politicians who claimed that improvements would not necessarily increase productivity, keep rents up, and enhance the value of estates. Instances of bankruptcies indicated that improvement did not guarantee survival for an estate. It could be argued that some of the improvers who went bankrupt, did so as a result of conditions in the forties. Thomas Johnes, one of the greatest improving landlords of Wales, and the Duke of Chandos might be included in this category, but even Mechi himself finally went bankrupt.¹ Low return on investment in agriculture (some 2% compared to a possible 9% from industrial ventures) was a problem. The uncertainties of experimental farming were well enough known for Trollope to make them the means of ruining John Eames's father, and Trollope's own father 'had no knowledge and, when he took this second farm, no capital.² This was the last step preparatory to his final ruin.'

Although there was pressure to improve and the identification of the important role estates were to have in the process, there was debate about how this should be achieved. Analyses of high farming have shown that there was no consensus about this as the best way forward at the time. Mechi urged farmers to halve their units in order thus to double the capital which they could expend on the land, but the evidence seems to be that smaller farms were becoming less common, and the build-up of estates might be seen as encouraging this.³ Although Mechi's ideas received much publicity, and he was seen in the company of some of the most eminent and progressive

1. J.E. Williams 'The British Standard of Living, 1750-1850,' Ec H.R. ser.2, vol XIX, 1966, pp.70,78; F.M.L. Thompson, The End of a Great Estate,' Ec.H.R. ser. 2, vol.8, 1955, pp.36-52; W. Good, Political, Agricultural and Commercial Fallacies, 1866, p.69
2. A.Trollope, The Small House at Allington, 1864, p.35; A.Trollope, An Autobiography, 1883, p.7.
3. J.Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 1857, p.60.

agriculturists of the day, he had opponents. Good denounced him and his farming as 'Mechian agricultural tricks' and claimed that his theory of deep drainage 'could¹ have been told him by some farm labourers in any parish.'. Mechi had described Tiptree Hall as barren waste when he began to farm it, but Good published a letter from a farmer who said he had farmed the land in the mid thirties, and cast doubts on Mechi's figures. By this time, Mechi had brought charges against the manager and secretary of the Unity Bank, which the judge waived, ruling that there was no case, but created an air of suspicion around Mechi by warning that 'the saddle ought to be² put upon the right horse'. Good's analysis of the twenty years from Repeal was of a disastrous time for agriculture, during which a consistent policy of 'one eyed legislation' had been engaged in - the shut eye pointing toward agricultural matters. The result had been 'evidence of agricultural distress, a decrease of the³ agricultural population and a want of thrift in all purely agricultural towns.'.

Writings often stressed the ideal, and implemenation might fall far short of this. The fifties began with a short, sharp agricultural depression. Some farmers were forced to quit their farms, and petitions from distressed farmers were read in⁴ Parliament. It became evident that technology could not solve all problems. The 1850s were particularly fruitful for steam inventions, yet in 1855 a prize offered by the Royal Agricultural Society for a steam cultivator was never awarded: a reminder that many inventions fell short of what was required for practical purposes. Yet⁵ others were never developed beyond the prototype.

1. W.Good, Political, Agricultural and Commercial Fallacies, 1866, p.69.

2. Ibid. p.63.

3. Ibid. pp.18,34.

4. See for example, Lord Stanley: Petition for Agricultural Distress in Thanet, Hansard vol.CX, Mar/Apr 1850, p. 295; Earl Hardwicke :Petition for Agricultural Distress in Cambridgeshire, Apr 23, 1850, p.671.

5. J.A. Clarke 'Account of the Application of Steam Power to the Cultivation of the Land', J.R.A.S.E. ser. 2, vol. 20, 1858, p.124.

In addition to these indications that agriculture was not all progress and prosperity, there were tensions between the worlds of commerce of agriculture. Whereas manufacturers more frequently displayed willingness to change, agriculture was not always led by landowners who sought improvement. For every one like the Duke of Richmond who wanted to act 'in accord with his often expressed conviction that they were bound to do all in their power to encourage agricultural improvement',¹ there were others with different attitudes. Dickens parodied their approach in characters like Sir Leicester Dedlock who passed over a youth 'who would probably have become Sir Leicester's steward, but for a tendency towards things mechanical² and Sir Leicester regarded this with great suspicion.'. The general reputation of agents being unwilling to initiate change was something which novelists often satirised. Trollope's Mr Plomacy was steward of Ullathorne for more than 50 years 'and a very easy life he had had of it', and the Duke of Omnium's agent spent a great deal of time in a social rather than a business setting as he 'greeted the Duke's³ guests, sat at the bottom of the table and asked one of the guests to say grace'. It was not uncommon for agents to be more interested in defrauding their employers than in encouraging improved farming - Lord Shaftesbury's agent was one - and, in Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour, Surtees referred to the common occurrence of the 'fraudulent⁴ agent who has appropriated his funds.'.

5

Goodwood was another estate where a dishonest agent had been embezzling money. The documentary evidence shows how the process of this painful discovery was handled, the

1. Richmond in Hansard vol LXXIX Apr 1845, p.855.

2. C.Dickens, Bleak House, 1851, p.89.

3. A.Trollope, Barchester Towers, 1857, p.315; A.Trollope, Dr.Thorne, 1858, p.209

4. B. Kerr, Bound to the Soil, 1968, p.210; R.Surtees, Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour, 1852, p.19.

5. Goodwood ms. 1743, Letters from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair, 1850.

protocol which was involved, how estate finances were straightened out and how trust was rebuilt. Within a paternalistic system such abuse of trust was perhaps the ultimate affront, and the efforts of landowner and estate personnel in re-establishing normality reveal much about relationships and priorities on the estate.

Change appeared in many guises. Much was made of the contrasts between the worlds of agriculture and of manufacture, and the capacity of the former to improve by adopting practices from the latter. Dean urged that 'farmers must become manufacturers and like them, they must look...into their business affairs.'¹ Cox thought that the farmer ought to become 'a manufacturer of agricultural produce' and Bence Jones later argued for the consideration of landowning as a business.²

That agriculture was the more limited was clear, 'extension of industry is practically unlimited', but 'land cannot be increased. Manufactures can be increased by both the intensive and extensive application of capital; agriculture after a certain point only by its extensive application.'³ Landowners were urged to increase capital investment in their estates, and instructed that improvements had the same effect as increasing capital. Sheild Nicholson reassured his readers that the point of diminishing returns would be pushed further away by the combined factors of transport developments and improvements.⁴ Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the fifties opened with the price of wheat dropping below the 40/- barrier - the

1. G.A.Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, p.51.
2. A.Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1857, p.49; W. Bence Jones, 'Landowning as a Business' in Nineteenth Century, March 1882.
3. W. Sheild Nicholson, Tenants' Gain, not Landlord's Loss, 1883, p.43.
4. Ibid. p.38.

level at which it did not pay. For those who had predicted that disaster would follow Repeal, the demands for new capital to be invested seemed to carry high risks.

As early as 1836, witnesses to the Select Committee on Agriculture had argued that the current depression was due to the lack of capital invested in land, as well as lack of farming skill, and the thirties and forties were difficult decades for many¹ landowners. Those bereft of capital were soon in difficulty, since improvements had to be financed, but returns were small.

The debate on the role of capital in post-Repeal agriculture can be seen in the farming literature of the time. Trimmer emphasised the need for tenants with capital, as did Caird and Monro.² Delineation of landlord/tenant roles and capital was provided by Cox and returned to by Cross, and capital remained a topic for lively³ debate. The Sussex Agricultural Express summed up opinion as 'There is nothing as a

rule more undefined and various than the most profitable amount of acreable capital⁴ required for profitable farming.' As late as 1879, Heath returned to the theme of

tenants having no security for their capital, which discouraged them from laying it out on their farms, quoting James Howard who had argued that the greatest need was for 'an equitable law securing to the tenant an interest in the outlay of his⁵ capital.' Still the problem was how to attract more capital to the land, and

Dean's comment echoed that of Mechi thirty years earlier, for 'the great fault in tenants generally speaking is having too much land in comparison with their means to⁶ cultivate it.'

1. D.C.Moore, 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVIII no.3, 1965, pp.547.

2. J. Trimmer, On the Improvement of Land as an Investment for Capital, 1847; J. Caird, English Agriculture 1850-1851, 1852, p.491; J. Monro, Landlord's Rents and Tenant's Profits, 1851.

3. A. Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853; F. Cross, Landed Property, its Sale, Purchase and General Management, 1857.

4. S.A.E. Agricultural Supplement, July 21, 1866.

5. F.G. Heath, The English Peasantry, 1874, p.209.

6. G.A.Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, p.51.

The situation at Goodwood reflected the fears and warnings described. Richmond, who had been one of the staunchest defenders of Protection, found it difficult to come to terms with Repeal and his negative perspective on the future reveals a caution which was inappropriate to the role of improving landlord. The apparent contradiction of the Duke's desires will become obvious in the study. He was anxious that the state should not interfere in local matters, and keen to retain his own control over key aspects of Sussex life, yet fervently believed that the Corn Laws should continue to protect agriculture. When read alongside each other, newspapers, Hansard and the Goodwood Papers help to show how it was possible for an aristocrat who was anxious to promote improvement and change on the one hand to expect special privileges for the agricultural interest, and how difficult he found it to abandon Protection as a philosophy. In this respect, Richmond was in a minority, for many writers stressed that improvement offered a better way for agriculture to protect itself. Even the Sussex Agricultural Express warned that 'any attempt to foster agriculture at the expense of manufactures would, if it succeeded, cause a national economic loss.'¹

From manufacturing came the stress on free competition. Pressure to improve was real, and those who were expected to lead the way were the estates, where management was to ensure that progressive practices were adopted on Home Farms, and that tenants adopt similar practices, and be aware of further improvements. This placed further pressure on management to work with the co-operation of its tenants. Writers of the time discussed farmers' skills, their housing and education, and their role in agricultural society. Cox advised them on how they should negotiate, with regard to

1. S.A.E. Aug 27, 1850.

repairs, auctions and letting. Knowledge, capital, skill and enterprise were words much used: Caird thought that high farming would protect the tenant where 'capital, skill and the mutual co-operation of landlord and tenant can be combined.'; Cox recommended that the tenant should have 'skill, integrity, energy and capital'; and at the end of the period, Sheild-Nicholson looked back on the capital of the landlord

and the energy and skill of the farmer. Skill and energy were constant themes and management was to ensure that tenants were given enough freedom to exercise autonomy.

Capital was of little use without the skill to employ it, and farming skills were changing. Farming books were on the increase during the mid century: some had appeared in the mid forties, and a real plethora began towards the end of that

decade.

At the start of the fifties, Pusey encouraged farmers to extend their horizons when they bought new implements and thus increase their skills, for they seemed unable to use the new tools effectively 'It seems evident that the new implements require a new system' and there was a need to break from custom 'in order thoroughly to carry out

the advantages of modern mechanics.'. H.S. Thompson commented on the number of machines which were displayed at one R.A.S. Show which 'served at any rate thoroughly

to puzzle the uninitiated.'. Skills with machinery were essential yet Pusey commented on how hard it was to influence farmers to buy new machines; even labour

1. A.Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853, p.49.

2. J. Caird, High Farming Under Liberal Covenants, 1849, p.32; A.Cox, op.cit. p.49; Sheild Nicholson, Tenants' Gain not Landlord's Loss, 1883, pp.29,32,85.

3. See for example, H.Stephens, The Book of the Farm, 1844; G.E. Fussell, '19th Century Farming Encyclopedias: a note' Aq. Hist. 9, 1965.

4. P. Pusey, 'On the Progress of Agricultural Knowledge During the last Eight Years'. J.R.A.S.E. 1851, pp.381-442.

5. H.S.Thompson, 'Report on the Exhibition and Trial of Implements at the Lewes Meeting, 1852', J.R.A.S.E., vol 13 1852, p.302.

manufacturing in the mid century. The need to use machines was felt amongst progressive agriculturists: Mechi described his 6h.p. steam engine which worked a pair of 4'4" millstones, a chaff cutter, a seed dresser, a threshing machine, a linseed cutter, a water pump and liquid manure pump. His list of prerequisites for successful farming stressed the skill of the farmer, both practical and theoretical, the maintenance of machinery and tools, the use of animal feedstuffs and manures,³ accounting and other skills.

Such detailed understanding of farming made demands on the intellect of the farmer, and required more knowledge than practical experience alone provided. The Agricultural College at Cirencester was originally established with the tenant farmers in mind, but Caird reported as early as 1850 'That class do not appear to have taken the advantages thus held out for them.'⁴ The Journal of Agriculture argued for education for farmers at a much earlier stage than this, and warned that too much stress on capital as the only essential for good agriculture would end in disaster without the necessary educational provision.⁵ Farmers were caricatured as

1. P. Pusey, 'On the Progress of Agricultural Knowledge During the last Eight Years'. J.R.A.S.E. 1851, pp.381-442.
2. Chambers and Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880, 1966, pp. 183,202.
3. J.J. Mechi, Paper to London Farmers Club, 1855 in How to Farm Profitably, 1857.

lacking in intelligence 'too much of what my father did I do about them' or were
1
portrayed as obsessed by drainage, guano and competitions.

The Goodwood farmers left no direct evidence themselves, except through the estate papers, but by piecing together fragments of evidence on individual farms, the study reveals something of the range of practice of farmers on the estate, the level of farming standards, and processes and practices which operated within the management structure when farmers got into difficulties.

The description of 'golden age' was too general to apply equally to all areas of the country, and the evidence from Goodwood displays tensions and conflicts within the structure of society. The maintenance of social and political control demanded stability in the old hierarchies and an adherence to roles which were universally understood, whereas leadership of agricultural improvement meant encouraging and initiating technical and institutional change. It required greater autonomy for tenants and corresponding shifts in roles and relationships. Change in rural society had always proceeded slowly and, from a landowner's perspective, this was important for the sake of stability and control. Conversely, agricultural change might have to be accomplished swiftly and the effects could be far reaching, one change necessitating many more. Further tension arose from the landlord's economic position. Indebtedness was not uncommon and although not necessarily indicative of impending bankruptcy, it did have implications for landlords who were expected to lead improved agriculture by example. The demand for capital outlay was considerable

1. J. Surtees, Hillingdon Hall, 1845, chapter 13.

and further economic claims were made by the maintenance of the landlord's paternalistic role, appropriate to his position at the apex of rural society.

It is doubtful whether an individual landowner perceived these pressures clearly, and his response was likely to be intuitive. The advantage of studying one estate in depth is that rhetoric and reality may be examined, theory as expressed in Parliament and at national and local agricultural events may be compared to practice as it touched estate management and the lives of tenants, labourers and townspeople.

Agricultural change has to be seen in relation to rural society: the two interacted and were interlocked. In this study, the retention of social and political control, agricultural improvement and the weakening of the landowner's economic position referred to earlier are constant themes, and the Goodwood material will supplement what is already known in these areas as well as questioning some established beliefs.

The retention of social and political control by landowners reflected the increasing importance of the social function of land with its concomitant paternalistic duties and expectations. It is not easy to express the rationale and the workings of paternalism in unambiguous terms. E.P.Thompson employed a theatrical model and saw the participants as actors, each man having his role to play in public demonstrations which proclaimed the hierarchical nature of rural society. Many of their appearances had 'much of the studied self-consciousness of public theatre', according to Thompson, as rulers and crowd 'needed each other, watched each other, performed¹ theater and countertheater'. Thompson saw the 18th century as a transitional time in

1. E.P.Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, Summer 1974, p.396.

paternalistic relationships and he suggested that economic rationalisation 'nibbled¹ (and had long been nibbling) through the bonds of paternalism.'. Nevertheless, rulers held on to their traditional power and reaffirmed it together with the other members of rural society. Despite what Thompson saw as a decline in paternalism, Roberts has identified a redefinition and resurgence of paternalism during the early² Victorian period. Yet he questioned whether the rhetoric matched practice, though remaining at a distance from the issue by confining himself mainly to newspaper research and making little use of estate papers. Roberts's picture of control defined paternalism as the most universal of social attitudes, operating in small spheres where property, church and locality were looked on to provide help and deal with social problems. The survival of an intact rural society in country districts in the mid-19th century probably helped to preserve traditional roles and slowed down the process of moving towards economic relationships revolving around the wage or the rent. Roberts questioned the relationship between rhetoric and action, suggesting that paternalistic intentions often fell far short of their aims when translated into³ practical reality. It is possible to dismiss the landowners' speeches as empty rhetoric, and equally possible to interpret them in Thompson's terms as 'gestures and⁴ postures'. Public events which involved all social classes might be seen as empty displays, but are equally capable of interpretation as 'occasions for an enlarged ceremonial which had wholly paternalist functions.'. The two approaches are not⁵ mutually exclusive and can be reconciled.

1. E.P.Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, Summer 1974, p.385.

2. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.25.

3. D.Roberts, op. cit., pp.270,273.

4. E.P.Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, Summer 1974, p.390.

5. Ibid. p.389.

The idea of public statements through action, involving the different class members of an interest group, making explicit the implicit assumptions which underpinned society is not new, nor is it confined to the world of agriculture. Overt manifestations which proclaim the tenets on which the structure is based form part of the regular pattern of any society. What is misleading is the theatrical image, for although there are theatrical elements in it, the ceremonial of rural society belongs not to the world of theatre, but to that of ritual. Like the theatrical world, ritual involves the performing of certain roles which are understood by the other participants and it may involve costume, gesture or speech which confer approval and agreement. Unlike the theatrical world, there is no audience, for both paternalist and dependents are actively involved. Each must provide either authority or deference, and every man has both rights and duties. Rites of passage within any society are commonly found at key points in the development of an individual's progress. There is also a sense of unreality about theatre, whereas ritual deals with core experiences which are common to all members of a society. Birth, initiation, marriage and death are celebrated through ritual with appropriate costume, speech and gesture. The individuals concerned may vary, but roles remain clearly understood. The solo roles may have a larger part to play, but group approval and confirmation of what is taking place is expressed collectively by speech, song or action, most of which is highly symbolic. Similarly, the public gatherings of rural society, be it sheep shearing, harvest dinners, processions, fairs or agricultural meetings, confirmed the existence of a common interest among all those present. The situation at Goodwood shows a greater cohesion between rhetoric and action than Roberts suggests; it was more appropriate to ritual than

E.P.Thompson's theatrical model; and it was closer to Bushaway's analysis of custom, ceremony and community, although he has not explored estate life as a mechanism of social cohesion through ritual.¹

Landowner control of rural society was still strong in rural areas, and change in the countryside need not necessarily indicate its weakening. The social structure placed landowners in positions of authority at the quarter sessions, in the militia and politically. Ault showed how the structure of farming and its customs were integrated with the fabric of rural society, the landowner being a key figure in both worlds.²

Dependence on the landowner by farmers, estate workers, servants and their families is easy to identify but the sphere of the estate's influence and indirect dependence extended further. Horses on the estate's home and tenant farms, for example, provided work for 'smiths, farriers, saddlers and harness makers, whip makers, stirrup, bit and spur makers, wheelwrights, carriage and coach builders, fitters, painters, upholsterers and trimmers; cart, van and waggon makers, coachmen, grooms, cabmen, flyers, carmen, carriers, carters and hauliers, horse keepers and horse breakers, horsedealers, jobmasters and livery stable keepers - not forgetting the knackers'.³ All of these and others depended on, or were affected by, the existence of great estates. Even migrant labour fitted in to the pattern: only when regular

1. R. Bushaway, By Rite, 1982.

2. W.O.Ault, 'By-laws of gleaning and the problems of harvest', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XIV no.2, 1961, p.210

3. F.M.L.Thompson, 'Nineteenth Century Horse Sense' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXIX no.1, 1976, p.78/9.

workers and their families had been fully employed were migrant workers taken on at peak times by estates. Where there was sudden change, as Freeman has shown, towns could be transformed in a few years from thriving thoroughfares to rural backwaters, with slumps in business, the laying off of servants, artisans and labourers. These and other factors maintained the traditional balances of rural society, and it was part of the landlord's role to maintain them.

Although historians have commented on the 'curiously unchanging nature of the countryside', tensions were evident and the regional context was important. Wells suggested that covert social protest in East Sussex was enduring until the advent of trade unionism so that theft, breaking the game laws, arson and other offences reflected inter-class tensions. P.F. Michael showed that disputes in Merioneth illustrated stress within the fabric of rural society, although Davies's study of Cheshire concluded that change could be and was in fact accomplished in that county 'without the disruption which accompanied agricultural improvement in other districts'.

One way in which landowners were able to retain control was by becoming involved in change and by involving themselves as at least part authors of it. Brundage showed how many of the Poor Law Unions 'reflected existing deference communities' and that

1. E.J.T. Collins, 'Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the 19th century.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol. XXIX no.2, 1976, p.56.
2. M.J. Freeman, 'The Stage Coach System of South Hampshire', Journal of Hist. Geog. 1, 1975, p.280.
3. G.E. Mingay, (ed) The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.11.
4. R. Wells, 'The Development of the English Rural Proletariat and Social Protest, 1700-1850', J.P.S. vol.6 no.2 pp.115-139.
5. P.F. Michael, Tenant Farming in Merioneth, 1850-1925. Unpub.M.A.thesis, Univ.of Wales, 1978, p.61.; C.S. Davies, The Agricultural History of Cheshire 1750-1850. Unpub.Ph.D thesis, Manchester, 1953, p.287.

landownership, local deference and political loyalties were among the most
¹
 significant factors in the drawing of boundaries. Dunbabin demonstrated how J.P.s
²
 retained control by remaining a self-co-opting group. Old loyalties were deep rooted
 and Ward found that economic factors were less significant in determining how
 landowners would vote on the Corn Laws than factors such as traditional loyalty,
³
 sentiment and personal or family attachment.

The agricultural interest encompassed landlord, tenant and labourer, and the need for
 mutual dependence was part of paternalism. Landlord, tenant and labourer depended on
 each other, and Carlton suggested that much dependence existed on the great estates
⁴
 in West Sussex, acting as a serious barrier to trades union activity. This
 dependence applied not only to labourers, and further reinforcement of the need for
 dependence was provided by the depression of 1849-52 which Thompson described as
⁵
 perhaps the sharpest for thirty years. Yet other factors did work against
 dependence, even in rural areas. Hopkins suggested that by the mid nineteenth
 century, mobility from areas where improved cultivation demanded more labour was
⁶
 creating labour shortages. This was less true in areas where alternatives to
 agriculture were few, and Kerr showed the immobility of southern labour and
⁷
 consequent reinforcement of dependence and deference. The complex pattern of the

1. A. Brundage, 'The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: a reappraisal of the revolution in government.' E.H.R., 1977, p.47.
2. J.D. Dunbabin 'British Local Government Reform - the 19th century and after' E.H.R., 1977, p.779.
3. J.T.Ward, 'West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws.' E.H.R., 1966, p.272.
4. B.F.Carlton, 'A substantial and sterling friend to the labouring man: the Kent and Sussex labourers' union, 1872-95.' Unpub.M.Phil.thesis, Sussex, 1977, p.62.
5. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.240.
6. E.Hopkins, 'Small Town Aristocrats of Labour and their Standard of Living, 1840-1914', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXVIII, 1975.
7. B. Kerr, 'The Dorset Agricultural Labourer 1750-1850', Archaeological History, 1962, p.175/6.

growth and development of voluntary associations and of state intervention has been described by Gosden and by Fraser, but in the mid-nineteenth century, the existence¹ of landlord benevolence was significant.

Dependence worked against the confidence which farmers needed to face new challenges.² It was also inappropriate to the model of estates advanced by Mills. He suggested that the 19th century estate was essentially a capitalist enterprise depending on economies of scale, incorporating a move away from that personal contact which was essential to traditional landlord control. The move to purely economic relationships was not easy and perhaps tensions generated by such shifts contributed to the kind of underlying conflict which led Orwin and Whetham to conclude that 'It is not³ surprising therefore that most farmers faced the 1850s with anxiety.'. The prosperity which resulted in reducing the protectionist party 'to an impotent, eccentric minority of wishful thinkers' has sometimes been taken to mean that the 1850s and 60s were decades of tranquility.⁴ Yet Jones described them as 'a time of⁵ niggling unease' and Thompson called the fifties 'unsettled'. Naturally, this insecurity increased the dependence of tenants and deferred the advent of autonomy in the tenant role. Statements like Martin's that 'a new confidence had been bred in the English farmer as he approached that golden age between 1852 and 1860' need⁶ careful investigation.

1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, Self Help, 1973, p.30; D.Fraser, The Evolution of the British Welfare State, 1973, pp.91-114

2. D.Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, Chapter 2, pp.27-42.

3. C.S. Orwin & E.H. Whetham, A History of British Agriculture 1846-1914, 1964, p.40.

4. P.J. Perry, 'A Note on the Geography of Protectionist Sentiment in 1850.' J.H.Geog. 2.2, 1976, p.163.

5. E.L.Jones, English Farming Before and During the 19th Century, Ec.H.R. ser.2. vol.15, p.150; F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.242.

6. E.W.Martin The Secret People, 1954, p.139.

These are all valuable contributions, yet gaps still exist in what is known, and possibly a detailed study such as this may be helpful. As with the issue of improvement, the juxtaposition of speeches and the estate papers permit a testing of theory against practice. Further, paternalism was essentially flexible. It varied from one landowner to another, and it is important to distinguish individual styles of operation. Had Roberts read the newspaper evidence and Hansard reports of Richmond's speeches alongside the estate papers, it might have provided a more thorough understanding of Richmond's performance as a paternalist.¹ It was the experience of his own estate and the context of his own region which provided for the aristocratic paternalist the framework within which his perspective was determined. The study casts new light on this aspect of paternalism, for although Richmond inherited a paternalistic tradition at Goodwood, he developed his own individual style, appropriate to the economic, political and social circumstances of his age.

If social relationships provided estates with a framework which required stability, agricultural improvement demanded that within that framework, dynamic change should be possible. The 1850s and 60s were decades which witnessed much activity in improvement, but detailed studies of this have been few. Perry suggested that the farming of the period has been the subject of broad evaluations and overviews and has not received the attention which it deserves.² Orwin and Whetham and Chambers and Mingay both dealt with improvement, but each book encompassed a long time scale and broad perspective.³ Thompson distinguished between developments from 1815 to

1. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.25.

2. P.J.Perry, 'High Farming in Victorian Britain, prospect and retrospect.' Aq.Hist. vol.55 no.2, Apr 1981.

3. C.S. Orwin and E.H. Whetham, A History of British Agriculture 1846-1914, 1964; J.D.Chambers and G.E.Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880, 1966, pp.170-198.

1880, and those which preceded the period. He characterised this revolution as 'mainly a managerial revolution' with consequent implications for landlord and tenant.¹

Jones suggested that livestock underpinned the prosperity of the period, indicating that change was there beneath a superficially unchanging exterior.² Taylor confirmed an increase in dairy farming, with Sussex one of the three counties in which the greatest percentage growth took place.³ Increasing population and growing markets encouraged development. Lee suggested that, just as export oriented growth could develop small countries whereas high internal demand stimulated the large, the same could be said of regional development. Growth through high internal demand was more effective, and this must be borne in mind when considering rural areas.⁴ The importance of livestock at Goodwood will be demonstrated and, although the evidence indicates that mixed farming was already playing an important part by the mid century, it increased as the 50s and 60s progressed.

Some of the changes were part of long processes. Jones pointed out that agriculture was still adjusting to its relationship with industry, and stressed the importance of psychological factors by indicating some of the fallacies held by 19th century farmers.⁵ The problem was that the Norfolk system did not distinguish between

1. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1966. p.62.

2. E.L.Jones, 'The Changing Basis of English Agricultural Prosperity', originally Aq.Hist. vols.VIII and X, 1960/1962, reprinted in Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution 1974, p.206.

3. D.Taylor, 'The English Dairy Industry' 1860-1930', Ec.H.R.ser.2, vol.XXIX no.4, 1976, p.585.

4. C.H.Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain' Ec.H.R. ser.2, VOL.XXXIV no.3, 1981, p.438.

5. E.L.Jones, 'English Farming Before and During the 19th Century', Ec.H.R. ser.2. vol.15, p.150.

technical and economic efficiency and made it difficult for farmers to identify unprofitable elements from an interlocking system.

Impetus for improvement has been attributed to various sources. Moore saw Repeal as part of a programme of agricultural improvement, and there are suggestions that conventional views of voting on Repeal may need to be rethought.¹ In 1961, Ernle's English Farming Past and Present was published in its 6th edition, with a major introductory essay by O. R. McGregor, criticising Ernle's analysis of Repeal.² Traditional views of social and economic factors do not explain the voting patterns which Repeal showed, and Aydelotte suggested that some reconsideration was necessary.³

Crosby attempted to explain some of the psychological factors which influenced those involved at the time of Repeal, and to analyse in context the actions of some of the main participants.⁴ Nor was Repeal the only legislative change to be connected to improvement. Vamplew saw one major aim of Commutation as 'to remove a disincentive for improvement.'⁵

The leadership of landowners and their competence in agricultural matters were highly significant factors in the implementation and dissemination of mid nineteenth century improved practice. Naturally, there were individual exceptions, but Thompson has

1. D.C.Moore, 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVlll no.3, 1965, pp.560/1.

2. O.R. McGregor in introduction to Lord Ernle, English Farming Past and Present, 1912, 6th edn, 1961.

3. W. Aydelotte, 'The Country Gentlemen and the Repeal of the Corn Laws' E.H.R., 1967, p.60.

4. T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977.

5. W. Vamplew, 'Tithes and Agriculture: Some Comments on Commutation' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXXIV no.1, 1981, p.115.

shown that they exerted a positive influence as a working elite who made improvement
a high priority.¹ Spring's findings support this, for he demonstrated an appreciable
difference between 18th and 19th century landowners in their handling of estate
matters.² Regional studies such as Adams's reinforce this conclusion.³

Concern for making permanent improvements might be said to indicate landlord interest
in the productivity of 'his estate' - certainly Wade Martins found this to be so.⁴
Where this was the case, it was because economies of scale gave the landowners more
time for policy making and to absorb business and professional developments. Such
factors were present in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and Adams's study of the area
identified these conditions as supportive in enabling landlords to create a framework
to sustain improved methods and foster new ideas.⁵

This drive for agricultural improvement by the great estates inevitably modified the
face of the countryside, although suggestions that it created large farms everywhere
have been disputed by Beckett.⁶ He questioned 'the tone of both contemporary and
historical writing' which 'has implied that the creation of large farms was a
universal aim among landlords.'. Havinden found an increase in farm size at
Ardington and Lockinge and certainly Marshall laid the responsibility for the move
toward such units at the door of landlords and agents

1. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.17.
2. D. Spring, 'Victorian Aristocracy' in Victorian Studies 6, 1963.
3. M.Adams, Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: an economic and social history. Unpub. Ph.D.thesis, Hull, 1957, p.268.
4. S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.85.
5. M. Adams, Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: an economic and social history. Unpub. Ph.D.thesis, Hull, 1957, p.268.
6. J.V. Beckett, 'The debate over farm size in 19th century England.'
Ag.Hist. vol.5 no.3, July 1983, p.311.

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'who preferred to manage fewer large units'. This was a far reaching move, which affected more than the mere size of the farm, and Marsh found that 'farm size was a particularly significant influence on the composition of the work force.'² The evidence from Goodwood helps to clarify the situation by supporting Beckett's doubts as to the creation of large units. Opportunities existed for the amalgamation of more farms than took place, and Goodwood shows a pattern of rationalisation and a move towards medium sized units and away from the small or very large. Still, it was part of the landlord role to bring about significant change, however slowly, and landlords had the power to bring about change which was fundamental and far reaching.

Mills describes this function of the landlord as 'to modernise the countryside in technological and institutional terms.'³ but for some, this presented problems. It implied more than reacting to new situations. Richards concluded that landowners had previously failed to seize opportunities and that although they had responded to stimuli, 'only in a few instances can they be said to have been the creators of new opportunities.'⁴

The study will show that in the absence of industrialisation or urbanisation, and without rapid population growth in the area, the context in which Goodwood existed did not encourage rapid change. Many general statements may be made about landed estates and agricultural improvement in the mid century, but the activities of each

1. M.A. Havinden, Estate Villages, 1966, p.55; D. Marshall, Industrial England, 1776-1851, 1973, p.70.

2. B. Marsh, The Agricultural Labour Force of England and Wales in 1851. Unpub.M.Phil.thesis, Kent, 1977, p.213 .

3. D. Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.

4. E. Richards, 'The Industrial Face of a Great Estate: Trentham and Lilleshall, 1780-1860.', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXVII no.3, 1974, p.19.

landowner must be seen in context. Just as Fletcher had questioned how uniform and how serious was the Depression of the late nineteenth century over the whole country, so similar questions need to be asked about the more prosperous period which preceded¹ it. Yet there is reluctance to accept this. Even where historians have questioned extensively the reality of the Depression, they have sometimes been slow to do the same for the prosperity or otherwise of the 1850s and 60s. Haresign's study in the Lincolnshire Fenlands and the Isle of Axholme mentioned the post 1815 depression, a post 1845 depression, but ignored the distress of 1849-53 and described the 1850s and 60s in Ernle's terms.²

The idea that different regions displayed varying timetables of agricultural change and development is supported by this study. It indicates that Sussex was behind East Anglia when compared with Holderness's work.³ Barnsby stressed the need for regional studies to get away from national aggregates. He found the 1850s and 60s were 'decades of considerable unemployment'.⁴ Snell suggested that there were regional variations which threw up questions demanding detailed local studies in order to answer them.⁵ Regional variations were present too in agricultural wages, and E.H.Hunt suggested that these differences were substantial in the 18th century and widened during the 19th century. Haresign commented on two significant features of

1. I.W.Fletcher, 'The Great Depression of English Agriculture 1873-96' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XII no.3, 1961, pp.417/8.

2. S.R.Haresign, Agricultural Change and Rural Society in the Lincolnshire Fenlands and the Isle of Axholme 1870-1914 Unpub.Ph.D.thesis, U.E.A., 1980, Chapter 1.

3. B.A. Holderness, 'Landlords' Capital Formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXV no.3, 1972, pp.434-447.

4. G.S. Barnsby, 'The standard of living in the Black Country during the 19th century', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXIV, 1971, p.220.

5. K.D.M. Snell, 'Agricultural Seasonal Unemployment, the standard of living and women's work in the south and east 1690-1860' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXXIV no.3, 1981, pp.407,425.

the landownership patterns in the region he studied, a great number of absentee landlords and a highly fragmented pattern of ownership because of the large number of small freeholders.¹

Such an increase in agricultural improvement and a resurgence of paternalism had implications for estates and their resources. Improvements needed to be funded by landowners for, despite government aid in certain categories, most improvements were carried out on estates without such help and required an injection of landlord capital. Paternalism implied economic support also, for the maintenance of the great house, the landowner as employer, as benefactor, as supporter of local schools, churches, hospitals, associations and for individual cases, all were costly but essential components of the landowner's role. The need for landlord capital was recognised at the time and has been acknowledged in a variety of ways. Chambers and Mingay estimated that probably more landlord capital was sunk in farm improvements in the mid 19th century than at any other period.² The degree of capital invested in buildings was underlined by Hall and Cooney, for Hall identified a peak in the late thirties, a trough ten years later and another peak in the middle sixties.³ Holderness drew attention to the nature of estate capital as distinct from landlord capital, and the relationship between the two was dependent on individual landlord/tenant relationships on particular estates.⁴ Marsh distinguished sharply

1. S.R. Haresign, Agricultural Change and Rural Society in the Lincolnshire Fens and the Isle of Axholme 1870-1914 Unpub.Ph.D.thesis, U.E.A., 1980, p.40.

2. J.D. Chambers & G.E. Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880, 1966, p.163.

3. A.R. Hall, 'Long Waves in Building in the British Economy: A comment', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XIV no.2, 1961; E.W. Cooney, 'Long Waves in building in the British Economy of the 19th century.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.13 no.2, 1960. p.257

4. B.A. Holderness, 'Landlords' Capital Formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXV no.3, 1972, pp.434-447.

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between landlord and tenant capital. Buildings and land from the landlord and equipment and stock from the tenants were the traditional division too, but Holderness found wide variations between estates in the delineation of landlord capital.

The availability of such capital was crucial and demanded planning as the debate between Spring and Thompson, with Cannadine's development of it, showed. Ward concluded that retrenchment could counteract earlier overspending, and Cannadine concluded that debt was a constant feature of aristocratic life. Thompson pointed out that the level of debt was significant in the context of the landowner's overall economic position. Nevertheless, ultimately the existence of landlord capital was essential in order to create a climate to attract the right kind of tenant to invest into agriculture which was led by what Cannadine described as 'an expansive and optimistic landowning class.'. Thompson's work on the Ailesbury Trust showed the need for landlord capital as did Michael, who found that almost no institutions existed to provide a loan service to farmers. It was, therefore, essential that they should have their own capital. Failure to do so and borrowing meant incurring high interest charges on personal loans and the pitfalls of foreclosure clauses. Evidence from Goodwood shows how management was successful in its desire to attract

1. B. Marsh, The agricultural labour force of England and Wales in 1851. Unpub.M.Phil.thesis, Kent, 1977, chap.1.

2. D. Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century; the case reopened', Ec.H.R. ser.2., vol.XXX no.4, 1977; D.Spring, 'A Great Agricultural Estate: Netherby under Sir James Graham', Aq.Hist. XXIX, 1955; D.Spring, 'English Landed Society in the 18th and 19th Century' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVII no.1, 1964; D.Spring, 'English Landownership in the 19th Century: A Critical Note.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.IX no.3, 1957.

3. J.I. Ward, 'West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws', E.H.R., 1966, p.267.

4. F.M.L. Thompson, 'English Landownership, the Ailesbury Trust,' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol XI no.1, 1958, p.121; P.F. Michael, Tenant Farming in Merioneth, 1850-1925. Unpub.M.A.thesis, Univ.of Wales, 1978, p.161.

new tenants with capital, and how this process worked in practice.

The study aims to contribute to a greater understanding of finance on estates. To the list of factors involved in avoiding indebtedness contributed to by Spring, Cannadine and Thompson may be added inherited wealth, the sale of foreign properties¹ and the development of idiosyncratic factors, such as the Racecourse. This demanded investment, and took priority over the development of the House. On strict profit and loss accounting, it might be difficult to justify, but in drawing others to Goodwood and giving the estate status and standing, it was very important.

Yet all these developments took place at a time when, according to Thompson 'a distinct weakening of the position of agricultural landowners' took place.² Although there may be uncertainty as to the nature, degree and precise timing of the decline, there is a broad consensus as to the gradual weakening of their power over a long period, but the changes took place within the existing framework, and with landowners remaining as highly significant figures in the social hierarchy of rural society. There was a complex relationship between economic and social control, especially where an estate of scattered lands was concerned and, although Denman asked questions about this and pointed to restrictive proprietary rights as a barrier to economic progress,³ he reached no firm conclusions. It is true that some positive factors existed which contributed to a more prosperous state of agricultural affairs and eased the situation for some farmers and landlords. Fairlie, in surveying the

1. F.M.L. Thompson 'The End of a Great Estate,' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.8 no.2, 1955, pp.36-52; D.Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century: the case reopened.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXX no.4, 1977; D.Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, pp 95/6.

2. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.240.

1. D.R. Denman, Estate Capital, 1959, p.27.

European background to Repeal, reinforced that it was factors quite outside the control of the landowners which contributed to the prosperity of the fifties and
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sixties.

Despite the work which has been done, questions remain unanswered. The role of the landowner was clearly changing and so were his relationships with the other members of the agricultural interest. Was it really possible for the landowner of a great estate to carry out his traditional role in the face of increasing demands for autonomy for his tenants, for capital, for change and improvement, in a context which was making available to the middle classes knowledge, capital, skill, travel, education and which was opening up the countryside and demanding change to traditional practices?

The study begins by considering the context in which the Goodwood estate operated. In the landownership of western Sussex, aristocrats played a significant part and their perspectives were important factors. The Duke of Richmond's own style of paternalism will be considered next, with its foundation resting on the merit of the recipient rather than on his needs. Such a paternalism required financial resources which would enable him to retain his position of social and political control, and the financial context of the estate will be dealt with in chapter 4. The implementation of the landowner's philosophy depended heavily upon his agent, and the changing nature of that multi-faceted role will be considered in the following

1. S. Fairlie, 'The 19th Century Corn Laws Reconsidered.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVIII no.3, 1965, p.563; S.Fairlie, 'The Corn Laws and British Wheat Production 1829-1876' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXII no.1, 1976, p.108.

chapter. The other partners in the agricultural family, farmers and estate workers are considered in chapters 6 and 7 respectively, and finally the estate's relationship with the local market town, in the county context and the changing agricultural perspective from local to regional and then national are dealt with in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CONTEXT OF THE GOODWOOD ESTATE:
LANDOWNERSHIP AND ATTITUDES TO REPEAL.

By the middle of the 19th century, the Goodwood Estate in the west of Sussex was a stable and well established feature of Sussex life. Even when Charles Lennox had succeeded to the title of fifth Duke of Richmond in 1819, the Estate fulfilled four conditions which were likely to predispose it to paternalistic approaches : it was aristocratic; it was set in a county where traditional patterns of landownership were unusually intact; the Estate was entering a period of great stability and continuity of ownership; and it already had a tradition of paternalistic activity, providing expectations of action and a concept of the landowner's role which involved him in paternalistic relationships.¹ In addition, the perspective of the owner on agricultural issues of the day and on his own role in rural society showed a reluctance to accept any kind of social change in roles and relationships which were the essential concomitants of his agricultural philosophy.

This chapter examines the pattern of landownership in the west of Sussex during the mid nineteenth century, and looks at the significance of those aristocratic landlords who owned great estates there. It considers in particular the attitude of the fifth Duke of Richmond to Repeal, and the assumptions about agriculture and society which held and revealed through his speeches on the Repeal issue.

1. For the purposes of this chapter, the word 'paternalistic' will be used to denote those duties and responsibilities based on custom and expectation which governed social and economic relationships between classes. The concept and its relevance to Goodwood in the mid 19th century are examined more closely in the next chapter.

A county's landownership patterns had a significant effect on the development of its agriculture: Adams referred to the aristocratic nature of the East Riding landowners as a significant factor in the development of that county's agriculture; Beastall thought Lincolnshire's progress was due in some measure to the 'structure of landownership and management which gave scope to a wide variety of people to exercise their talents and to express their ambitions' and Davies that a significant factor which influenced the development of agriculture in Cheshire was the presence of individual farms in that county.¹ At Goodwood, the aristocratic nature of the estate was marked, and this was paralleled by the aristocratic nature of the county. At its furthest point, the distance from London is only seventy miles, and this proximity to the capital, a mild climate and favourable conditions for farming presented an attractive prospect for aristocratic owners of estates. Goodwood was one of eleven great estates of over 10,000 acres in the county, and ten of these were owned by peers.² They ranged from the estates of the Dukes of Richmond and Norfolk and the Earl of Egmont in the west of the county, to those of the Earls de la Warr, Chichester and Ashburnham in the east; from the 11,000 of the Duke of Devonshire to the 30,221 of Lord Leconfield at Petworth.

F.M.L.Thompson has demonstrated that nineteenth century, England was still 'not merely an aristocratic country, but a country of a landed aristocracy'.³ Members of that group had much in common, in terms of their birth and childhood, education and occupation, their social outlook and political perspectives. They might differ in

1. M. Adams, Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850/80 unpub. PhD thesis, Hull, 1978, p.268; T. Beastall, Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire, 1978, p.94; C.S. Davies, The Agricultural History of Cheshire, 1750-1850, unpub. Ph.D thesis, Manchester, 1953, p.287.

2. See Table 1; See Figure 4.

3. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.9.

the details of their political beliefs, but that at heart, each was working for the preservation of government and the distribution of power within their own class. There might have been a weakening of the power of the aristocracy as the nineteenth progressed, but they still formed a ruling class of great significance. Not only were they involved in political decision making at national level, but the unusual balance which the English system maintained between national and local government gave them additional influence in their own areas of the country.

After the mid century, the interest in who owned the land of England grew. Supporters of the Anti-Corn Law League began to claim that land was in the hands of only a few aristocratic families, as the publication of the census returns had¹ indicated that English land was concentrated in the hands of only 30,000 owners. Sanford and Townsend's The Great Governing Families of England indicates a growing concern about who owned the land, and further investigations took place in the early² seventies. To settle the disquiet, the Returns of Owners of Land were collected in 1872-3, making up the Parliamentary Papers of 1874, popularly known as the New³ Domesday Survey. Thompson has described this as 'the only solid point of reference in a sea of conjecture', and because of the relatively small changes in landownership, suggests that it is relevant to the century which preceded its⁴ compilation, as well as to the fifty years after that. However, the New Domesday Book had its shortcomings, which makes it preferable to use later works based on it,

1. D. Spring, in Bateman, The Great Landowners, 1883, 1971 edn., p.10.

2. J.L. Sanford and M. Townsend, The Great Governing Families of England, 1865.

3. P.P. LXXII Return of Owners of Land, 1874.

4. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.27.

rather than the survey itself, particularly the work of John Bateman. He was a conventional Victorian Squire, who saw landowners as generous and benevolent people, whose sense of social obligation had resulted in their oppression. Nevertheless, his book The Great Landowners was based on the New Domesday Book and attempted to arrive at more accurate figures for landownership. In a desire for precision, the book went¹ through four editions in seven years and provides a firm basis for analysis.

The English and Welsh sections of the New Domesday Book were analysed by Bateman and published as The Acre-Ocracy of England, the first edition of which appeared in 1876.

The Sussex entries were amongst those which required correction and which benefited from the inclusion of the Scottish and Irish lands in the second edition. Seemingly irrelevant to Sussex, these had been important omissions; the Duke of Richmond owned a greater acreage in Scotland than in England, and the Earl of Egmont's Irish lands were more extensive than the Cowdray estate, and almost as great as the extent of his² Surrey and Sussex lands added together. The Duke of Norfolk's holdings were all in England, but more than a third of Lord Leconfield's total acreage was in County Clare, Limerick and Tipperary. The value of these Scottish and Irish lands fell far below their English equivalents, but it would be wrong to see estates like Goodwood, Cowdray and Petworth as totally isolated and independent, since their owners had to set up management structures which would operate in their absence.

1. J. Bateman, The Acreocracy of England, 1876.

2. See Table 3.

It was important for records of Sussex landownership that Bateman added a new class of owner to the third edition, which appeared in 1879. In this edition the minimum acreage for inclusion was lowered from 3,000 to 2,000, and the information about landownership in these medium estates was extended. By the fourth edition, this had been extended yet further, to a new category of estates between one and three thousand acres, which Bateman termed 'squires' and in Sussex, some 86 landowners¹ owned such estates in the county, accounting for nearly 150,000 acres of Sussex land. The title of Bateman's book had been changed to The Great Landowners for the second edition, and this remained permanent, but further changes were made in the text for the sake of accuracy: acreages and wrong spellings were corrected and double entries removed.

Landownership in Sussex as recorded by Bateman reveals that the county displayed several features which indicated a high degree of aristocratic paternalistic control and a highly traditional social pyramid which was unusually intact. The fourth edition appeared in 1883, and Bateman had completed the work by adding information on smaller estates: greater and lesser yeomen, small proprietors and cottagers. He also added tables, summarising landownership county by county, according to the various classes of owners, which enable comparisons to be made. The number of peers owning land in different counties can be compared, as can the percentage of each county held in their estates. The relative sizes of the different groups of landowners and the

1. See Table 10. These landowners were not named, but were included in the tables which had been written for Brodrick's *English Land and English Landlords* (1865) and were revised for inclusion in Bateman's book.

percentage of the county which each owned can be studied and compared with adjacent counties, and contrasted with those elsewhere in the country.

How 'aristocratic' particular counties were is debatable. F.M.L.Thompson suggests that the density of county seats is an important factor, and his analysis and tables were based on the figures extracted from Sanford and Townsend in 1865, combined with a further table of figures based on Bateman's data. The position of Sussex is unremarkable in each of these, as it was 24th and 18th respectively. A significant factor not taken into account by Thompson however, was whether or not the estate was the landowner's major base, and what other layers of society existed to play a major part in the economic, political and social structure of the county. In this sense, Sussex could be said to be highly aristocratic, because of the high number of peers who made the county their base. The existence of 195,016 acres of land in the hands of aristocratic landowners was significant.

In the western part of the county, the Duke of Richmond's Goodwood estate was one of five huge estates whose lands totalled almost 100,000 acres. To the north, it was bounded by parishes which contained the 14,021 acres of the Earl of Egmont's Cowdray Estate, centred on Midhurst, and east of this was Petworth, the largest estate in the county. South and east again were the lands of the Duke of Norfolk's Arundel Estate which totalled 21,446 acres, and this was bounded on the east by Rev. John Goring's Wiston Estate. Goodwood was the third largest of these estates, and it was the newest, having been created in 1720 when the first Duke bought the original hunting

1. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963,p.30;
2. See Table 4.
3. See Table 5.
4. See figure 1. Map of West Sussex

lodge at Goodwood in Charlton Forest with 200 acres of land, which had been extended to 17,000 by the end of the 18th century, and this total remained constant for many¹ years.

Thus most of the land in the west of the county was contained in these five estates - four of them owned by peers - and together with six other aristocratic estates in the east, they made up the largest group of landowners in the county, but other aristocrats were present also. Nineteen peers were recorded as holding land and having their principal estates in Sussex, giving Sussex the largest number of such peers in any county in England. The acreage owned by peers in Bateman's tables was 195,016, but although he gives the total number of peers as 19, it would be wrong to assume that these peers alone shared the 195,016 acres, since each peer was assigned to the county in which he held his principal estates, and no-one was entered in more² than one county. Hence the Duke of Devonshire's 11,062 acres of Sussex lands were included in the total, but according to Bateman, he was not one of the nineteen, as the 89,462 acres he owned around Chatsworth meant he was included on Derbyshire's list; the Marquis of Camden's 3,755 acres were included in the Sussex total, but his³ 7,214 acres at Wilderness Park in Sevenoaks placed him with the Kentish peers. 'Principal' estates were defined according to where the landowner's seat was, and not strictly in relation to acreage: hence the Duke of Richmond was included in the⁴ Sussex total, since his seat is listed as 'Goodwood House'.

1. J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.1.

2. See Table 6

3. Ibid.

4. See Table 1

Such an aristocratic presence was not unique: in fifteen counties, peers still owned¹ over 20% of the land, but most of these were in the midlands. Only three southern counties were included in the fifteen: Dorset, Wiltshire and Sussex, and the differences between adjacent counties could be marked. Kent, Hampshire and Surrey had approximately similar totals, with 12.8%, 12.7% and 10.9%, yet they bounded Sussex where the figure was 21.8%. Both in terms of acreage and number of peers, the aristocracy seems to have been very powerful in Sussex. Bateman placed the county thirteenth in order of size of English counties, yet equal first in terms of the number of peers whose major seats were in the county, sharing the first place with the West Riding of Yorkshire, the largest county in England, and almost double the size of Sussex.

The aristocrats were significant in Sussex landownership, but so too were other layers in the social hierarchy. Frequently, county landownership patterns showed that more of the land was owned by great landowners. These were defined by Bateman as those whose estates totalled 3,000 acres or more, were commoners, and had a rental² of at least £3,000 per annum. Usually, Sussex estates which qualified on the first count did so on the third as well, since most Sussex land was of reasonable (though not outstanding) value. On the whole, land in the county in the developing seaside resorts commanded the highest rents. The Misses Brisco's 4,390 acres in Hastings, for example, brought in a gross annual rental of £6,608. Land in the weald was much less valuable: Lt. Col. Aldridge's 5,739 acres in St. Leonard's Forest at Horsham

1. See Table 9

2. See Table 8

brought in only £3,164, and the land in the west of the county fell somewhere between these two extremes. Charles Leslie's 4,350 acres at Slindon for example, recorded a rental of £3,707. Nevertheless, there were no outstandingly poor rentals. Certainly there was nothing to equal the Duke of Richmond's Scottish lands where a rental of only £1,182 came in from 27,409 acres¹ in Inverness, and no Sussex landowner failed to qualify for the category because his rental was too low. The reverse did sometimes happen, and although the £4,422 per annum received by Wisden of Broadwater for his 2,937 acres qualified him as a 'great landowner', he was excluded because his acreage was below 3,000.

In many counties, a higher percentage of land was owned by these great landowners than by aristocrats, and in only ten counties - that is only about a quarter of the English and Welsh counties, did peers own more land than any other group, and Sussex¹ was one of these ten. Still, there were a number of great landowners in Sussex, and when added to the acreage of the peers, 42.5% of the county was owned by these two² groups, some 59 owners sharing this land. Only Devon, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Hampshire had a higher total than this. When the lands in category 3 (squires holding 1,000-3,000 acres) are added to those in the first two categories, the totals show that 59% of Sussex land was held in estates of 1,000 acres or more, and this was³ higher than the surrounding counties. Hampshire had 56% of its land in such estates, Kent 46% and Surrey only 41%. This landownership was important, for the political hierarchy, the economic structure and the social hierarchy were closely related. In Sussex, alternatives to agriculture were few, and this left the power of the

1. See Tables 9 and 10.
2. See table 11.
3. See table 13.

aristocrat intact. In some counties, aristocratic control was being weakened by the rapidly developing urban centres where alternative employment to agriculture was possible and where the fabric of rural society had been weakened to accommodate the new industrial growth. In Sussex, this was not so, and the aristocrat retained a more traditional dominance. Beneath him were owners in Bateman's other categories - great landowners, squires, greater and lesser yeomen, small proprietors and cottagers. The totals of Sussex land in these seven categories followed an unusual pattern which was unique in Bateman's tables, for it was only in Sussex that the table began with the largest acreage total, and diminished with each category.¹

In most counties, the great landowners owned more land than any other groups: this was true of 29 out of the 42 counties for which Bateman provided the totals, including Kent and Hampshire, as well as northern industrial counties like Lancashire and Yorkshire, dairying areas like Devon and Somerset, and the drier, corn growing east in Suffolk and Norfolk.² Surrey and Cambridgeshire were unusual, in that greater yeomen held more of the land than any other single group, and Cumberland was unique, because there alone, lesser yeomen owned the largest total. The remaining ten counties were those in which peers held more land than any other group, but in seven of these, greater yeomen held more land than squires; in Rutland, lesser yeomen held more than greater yeomen, and in Cheshire, small proprietors held more than lesser yeomen. Only in Sussex did the land totals diminish as the status of the owners decreased, and only in Sussex was the number of owners directly in inverse proportion to this pattern.

1. See Table 10

2. See Table 9

This meant that of all counties, Sussex preserved most accurately traditional landownership patterns: more of the county was owned by peers than by any other group, great landowners were second, followed by greater yeomen, lesser yeomen, small proprietors, and only 0.4% of the county was owned by cottagers.¹ By the third quarter of the century, this social pyramid was unique: it reflected in detail the traditional hierarchy of rural society, and it was significant in maintaining the power of the landed estate.

The presence of aristocratic estates did not necessarily equal aristocratic control, but other factors in the landownership of Sussex combined to give the county a strongly traditional hierarchy in terms of landownership, and in the control which aristocrats had over the political, economic and social life of the area. The estates of the west of Sussex will be discussed in detail later, but they were well established, and the aristocratic families were closely integrated into all aspects of Sussex life. From the mid eighteenth century to 1806, the third Duke of Richmond was master at Goodwood, and he worked particularly closely with the Earl of Egremont at Petworth on many aspects of Sussex life. Sussex paternalism was well developed, in particular by two of the landowners, the third Duke of Richmond and the third Earl of Egremont. They both won reputations as agricultural improvers, as benevolent paternalists, they had active political careers, and worked on their estates.

The Duke's interest in agricultural improvement was commented on by Rev. Arthur

1. See Table 10

Young, who remarked that he had made 'great and beneficial exertions' in promoting agricultural change and had founded the Goodwood southdown flock, the oldest flock of this breed known to exist.¹ He was the first president of, and first to subscribe to, the Sussex Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Manufactures when it was founded in 1772.² He played a leading part in prison reform in the county, and was active in the rebuilding of Horsham Gaol and the Petworth House of Correction in the 1770s and 80s in advance of national legislation.³ At Petworth, the third Earl had encouraged twelve parishes to combine and build a workhouse at Easebourne before the end of the 18th century, and it was said that over a period of 60 years, he spent £1,200,000 on charity.⁴ His concern for the poor covered their education, housing, and employment, and his support of the sick involved the payment of a doctor and a midwife. The emigration scheme which he developed and organised for labourers to take them to Canada has about it all the hallmarks of paternalism. Similar examples are to be found elsewhere long before the Victorian period: E.P. Thompson suggested that paternalism had existed, and was already declining during the 18th century, and Mingay has defined 18th century paternalism as sporadic and occasional,⁵ but there are instances of regular systems being set up. In 1757, Lord Derby's steward commented on the fact that some timber had been felled without his permission, which he thought a great pity, because at the direction of Lord Derby, there was a system whereby 'all timber fit for building' was 'to be felled and

1. A. Young, A General View of the Agriculture of Sussex, 1808, p.17.

2. W.S.R.O., ad.ms.1015.

3. J. Howard, The State of the Prisons, 1784, pp.193-195.

4. Lord Egremont, Wyndham and Children First, 1968, p.29.

5. E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, Summer 1974, pp. 387, 384/5; G. Mingay, English Landed Society in the 18th Century, 1963, pp. 16,17,133,134 and 210.

1

distributed among the tenants.'. On the Egerton estates, each year all categories of labour received gifts of money, food, clothing and firing at Christmas. These activities are similar to those which Roberts includes in his analysis of Early Victorian Paternalism, yet Richmond died in 1806, and Egremont in the year of Victoria's accession. Roberts uses examples of Egremont's activities to illustrate early Victorian paternalism, the Earl had been engaged in such activities for well over half a century and the third Duke of Richmond adopted a similar approach.

2

When the third Duke died childless in 1806, his estates and titles went to his nephew, the son of a general. This Duke embarked on a political career, and spent six years as Viceroy in Ireland. In 1813, he was recalled, and because the estate was heavily encumbered, decided to take his family with him to Brussels. His son and heir, the Earl of March, was wounded at Orthes, and when peace came, retired to Goodwood, settling down to run the estate. In 1814, he founded the March charity for the sick poor of the City of Chichester and gained a reputation for his interest in the welfare of the labourers. His father went to Canada as Governor General, and while there, he died suddenly, bitten by a rabid fox, and the Earl of March became the fifth Duke of Richmond in 1819.

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At this point, the Goodwood estate entered into a period of great stability, since the fifth Duke remained as master of Goodwood for 41 years, and was succeeded by his

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1. C.S. Davies The Agricultural History of Cheshire, 1750-1850, unpub. Ph.D thesis, Manchester, 1953, p.82.

2. D. Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, See for example pp.106, 117, 128.

3. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.82; Sir E. Clark, The Sixth Duke of Richmond, J.R.A.S.E. vol.64, 1903, p.1.

4. W.S.G. Jan 17, 1861.

son in 1860.¹ The sixth Duke ran the estate for 43 years, and died in 1903.² In this, Goodwood was more fortunate than the other estates in the west of Sussex: Cowdray was sold and changed hands in the 1840s; the title at Petworth disappeared with the death of the third Earl in 1837; it took some time to settle his will, and his illegitimate son took over the estate.³ Arundel stayed in the Howard family, but changed Dukes many times : in 1815, in 1842, in 1856 and again in 1860, when the new Duke was a minor, aged 13.⁴ The stability enjoyed by Goodwood was a major factor in preserving a consistent philosophy within which the management operated.

Charles Lennox was in his late twenties when he became fifth Duke of Richmond, and his political interests had begun in 1812 when he became M.P. for Chichester, and he served in this capacity until he succeeded to his title. Smith has described how 'the Richmond interest' had regularly returned one of the two members for Chichester since 1790', and the fifth Duke showed quickly and clearly how he intended to use this influence.⁵ When he went to the Lords, his place in the Commons was taken by the eldest of his surviving brothers, Lord George Lennox. When the Sussex seat for the west of the county became available in 1832, Lord George moved to it, and his youngest brother, Lord Arthur, took the Chichester seat. Although the Reform Act of 1832 diminished the influence of some aristocrats, Smith suggests that 'far from diminishing the scope of the Richmond interest in Sussex', the Act 'actually facilitated its expansion'.⁶ Richmond could return a member for Chichester, and now

1. Hampshire and Sussex Chronicle, Nov 3, 1860

2. Sir E. Clark, The Sixth Duke of Richmond, J.R.A.S.E. vol.64, 1903, p.1.

3. Cowdray ms, 4976/7, 1843; F. Steer and N. Osborne (eds) The Petworth Archives G. Pedigree, p. xvi.

4. J.M. Robinson The Dukes of Norfolk, 1983, pp.211-214.

5. D.A. Smith, 'The Richmond Interest and Party Politics', S.A.C., vol.117, 1979, p.202

6. Ibid.

exerted a powerful influence over the election of one of the county members also. By 1832, Lord George and Lord Arthur had been joined in the Commons by their brother William, who 'shared the representation of King's Lynn with Lord George Bentinck, Richmond's confidant both on the turf and at the Palace of Westminster.'¹

The years immediately before Reform show how independent Richmond was in his political action. He had distanced himself from Peel and Wellington in 1829, and served in Grey's cabinet for three and a half years, allying himself with the Reformers. In 1834, he resigned over the Irish Church question, and in August of that year, declared himself to be 'unconnected with any party'.² Richmond's influence extended beyond elections, and the other members of his family looked to him for guidance. The way in which the Lennox brothers voted in the House is illustrated by a letter written to the Duke by Lord Arthur in 1837: 'You are probably aware that a Decision in the House of Commons ... will be taken on Monday next. I am extremely anxious to learn your opinion on the subject, in order that my vote may coincide with the one you will give in the House of Lords when the decision comes to that place.', and having received his brother's reply, Lord Arthur wrote again 'I trust I have rightly understood your wish on the Subject...I can oppose the whole bill on its third reading if such is your wish.'³

Smith describes Richmond's relationships with his brothers as 'more like the chief of

1. D.A. Smith, 'The Richmond Interest and Party Politics', S.A.C. vol.117, 1979, pp.202, 203, 215, 216, 217.

2. Ibid. p.203.

3. Ibid. p.203.

an old style family connection more typical of politics in the preceding century', and that the way the brothers took Richmond's lead could be told as 'the history of a political connection headed by a self-conceived and self-confessed independent.'¹ The independence of one of the brothers ended in 1840, when Lord George accepted a position as a Gentleman of the Prince's Bedchamber under Whig patronage. Richmond himself was opposing the Whigs at this time, and after the election of 1841, when Lord George did not stand, the Richmond interest 'became an unambiguously Conservative one'.² Richmond's eldest son was now of age and filled his uncle's place. Both his brother and his son accepted places in the government, but Richmond himself did not, and began to display rigid and inflexible Tory attitudes in the early forties. Smith suggests that he had lost confidence 'in the politics of moderation and compromise' and that his new Conservatism was delivered 'with an ardour which waxed with the 1840s.'³

It was in the context of this hardening Conservatism that Richmond faced the question of Repeal. On the whole, Sussex remained strongly Protectionist, except for parts of Lewes and Brighton. The Sussex Agricultural Express claimed that 'East Sussex is the strongest area in England against free trade' and although Roberts suggests that 'It was a strong claim, one that west Sussex might contest', there was some evidence of divisions of opinion.⁴ In the west, the debate had split families: the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond were ardent protectionists, but the Earl of Arundel, Norfolk's

1. D.A. Smith, 'The Richmond Interest and Party Politics', S.A.C. vol.117, 1979, p.202, 203, 215, 216, 217.

2. Ibid. p.215

3. Ibid. p.216

4. S.A.E. in D. Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.125/6.

eldest son, was firmly in favour of Repeal, and Lord Arthur Lennox, Richmond's brother was so strongly in favour that he resigned his parliamentary seat because he¹ felt his feelings were in opposition to those of his constituents. Ward has suggested that economic factors were less important in the Corn Law debates than² traditional loyalties, family attachments, Protectionist anger and so on.

The strength of feeling was considerable, and none resisted Repeal more strongly than Richmond. Retrospectively, in his philosophy, there was a potential conflict which was bound to create tensions : he was a supporter of traditional rural society on the one hand, and an improver on the other; he was the leader of a patriarchal society and yet the leader of technical and institutional change; he wanted to maintain the political, social and economic status quo, whilst developing the roles of tenants, and this development must ultimately threaten that very rural society which had placed him at its head. His own perspective was an additional factor of importance, particularly with regard to major agricultural issues of the day, since this placed parameters on the activity the estate and its management could engage in.

In a county with such a high proportion of aristocrats, and a social pyramid which was unbroken by industrialisation or large scale urbanisation, owners of great estates faced a difficult choice by the mid century. The contradictory nature of the landlord's role as the leader of patriarchal society, yet the leader of technical and³ institutional change, was clear. Traditional rural society assumed a slowly

1. S.A.E. Jan 10, 1846.

2. J.T. Ward, 'West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws.' E.H.R., 1966, p.271.

3. D. Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.28.

changing, backward looking society with traditional institutions intact, and roles which were clearly defined and generally understood. On the other hand, by the mid nineteenth century, the great estates had to be commercial enterprises, dependent on profits made through economies of scale. Landowners had to be more than ready to accept change: they had to seize opportunities and take the lead in encouraging others to adopt new ideas and practices. Richmond's activities in local and regional agriculture make it clear that he was in favour of development, and he acknowledged 'his often expressed conviction that they were bound to do all in their power to encourage agricultural improvements.'¹ He had been one of the founders of the Royal Agricultural Society, and was its president in 1850/1. He was mentioned by Mechi in *How to farm profitably* as one of half a dozen exemplary improving landlords, and had a high reputation as a sheep breeder.² His commitment to improving agriculture was clear, yet his position as head of rural society and its institutions was clear also.

Moore sums up the conflict by explaining that the improving landlord wanted to increase the productivity of the countryside without disturbing the hierarchical structure of rural society.³ This could sometimes be achieved by the landowner if he could be at least part author of the changes, but clearly, the sort of agriculture which encouraged the farmers in entrepreneurial and commercial attitudes, if followed to its logical conclusion, would destroy the structure of rural society.⁴ Yet there is no evidence that Richmond found it difficult to fulfil what he saw as his

1. Hansard vol. LXXIX, April 1845, p.856.

2. J. Mechi, How To Farm Profitably, 1857, p.11; See also T.Bowick, 'On the Management of a Home Farm', J.R.A.S.E., vol. 23, 1862, p.247.

3. D.C. Moore, 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' Ec.H.R. ser.2, XVIII,3, 1965, p.552.

4. See for example A.Brundage, 'The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law', E.H.R., 1972, p.33.

obligations in both roles. He argued on the one hand that landowners were bound to do all in their power to encourage improved agriculture, and still spoke against¹ legislation to encourage the granting of leases. It seems unlikely that he was aware of any conflict, mainly because one of these roles was dominant, and the other had to be interpreted and implemented in terms of the dominant role: in Richmond's case, the dominant role was that of the paternalistic landowner, and change and development had to be accommodated into this perspective. The strength of his commitment to this traditional role is illustrated in his attitudes to Repeal, and particularly in the length of time it took him to come to terms with the fact that Protection had gone for good.

During the campaign for Repeal, Richmond warned constantly of disaster, and was convinced that 'free trade would be the ruin of this country': not surprisingly, he² worked actively to prevent Repeal. The Corn Laws had been passed in 1815 and supported the agricultural interest - particularly the country party. Briggs describes how 'far sighted commentators, including Peel himself, had prophesied in 1832 that the effect of the Reform Bill would be to destroy that social system which³ the Corn Laws attempted to bolster. Yet Richmond supported the one without realising the implications for the other. When Repeal became a major issue, he resisted it strongly and with vigour.

1. Hansard vol.LXXVIII, Feb-April 1845, p.257.

2. Ibid.

3. A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1869, 1959, p.323.

The campaign ended early in 1846 when the laws were indeed repealed, and Peel later justified the object of his actions as 'to terminate a conflict which, according to our belief would soon place in hostile collision great and powerful classes in this country.'¹ This may have been so, but in the failure of effective resistance, there were several significant factors for which Richmond was at least partly responsible and which will be considered next: the separation of agricultural issues from their political implications, a tendency for the resistance to be sporadic and, most importantly, lack of clear and effective leadership.

For a long time, there had been no forum where farmers and landlords could debate agricultural issues at national level, and arrive at clearly formulated policies. The Royal Agricultural Society was specifically forbidden to engage in political activity. This had been written into the rules by those who had founded it - and those founders included the Duke of Richmond.² Agricultural improvement was to be the main aim of the Society, and its energies were not to be dissipated by political topics. Thus resistance to the Anti-Corn Law League had to begin at local level.

Crosby suggests that the origins of organised resistance began in Essex, with the formation of the Essex Agricultural Protection Society in 1843, and the expectation that, in the words of the Essex Standard, 'this will be followed out by the tenantry of England generally in the form of protection societies in other areas, stimulated by dynamic action in Essex where 'such a flame will be lighted up...as will extend to

1. R. Peel, quoted in A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1869, 1959, p.324.

2. T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.131.

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other counties.''. The farmers had organised themselves, and the newspapers were quick to point this out, and could not but 'lament that the impulse to action should have come from below.', and the Standard commented that 'the agriculturist movement grows apace: it is becoming quite formidable.'.
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Two months later, in an attempt to ensure that the landlords also had a voice, an aristocratic protectionist society was formed, and soon after a further meeting decided to combine the two societies to enable landlords and tenants to work towards their common goal. It was at Richmond's London house in Portland Place, that this meeting was held in 1843, and he and
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Buckingham accepted the two major offices in the Society.

Despite the amalgamation of the two societies, there was no clear rallying call, reflecting the lack of effective leadership from which the Anti-League (as the society which Richmond and Buckingham led, was called) suffered. Numerous resolutions against the Anti-Corn Law League were passed, but little else was done. The Anti-League ought, by this time, to have been in a powerful position: landlords and farmers were united in a Society which was managed by a committee of 40, of whom at least 20 were to be tenant farmers, Richmond fully supporting the idea that the

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farmers should have a 'very full representation' on the management committee. However, when the threat of Repeal seemed to recede in 1844, the Anti-League 'became moribund'. Partial blame for the inactivity of The Anti-League has to be Richmond's, for Crosby describes how he was 'emphatic against any participation in political matters, including electioneering' and despite the fact that many members

1. Essex Standard Dec 29 1843, quoted in Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.131. See also The Times Dec 23, 1843.

2. Ibid.

3. T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.133.

4. Ibid.

of The Anti-League felt that political involvement would have been a positive step, its prevention was incorporated into the Society's regulations: rule four prohibited any political activity, including electioneering, by any of The Anti-League's members, although it was 'much to the disappointment of some of his followers.'

That it was a mistake, Richmond realised in December 1845, when he changed his view of the action which ought to be taken, and said that although 'He had always felt as farmers, they ought not to set man against man', it was time for a change, and he urged local Protection societies to be 'up and doing'.

The rules of the Anti-League were changed in order to enable this to happen, and members of local Protection societies were urged only to vote for protectionists 'without political bias or party feeling', and Protectionist candidates were returned in 16 out of 24 by-elections held in early 1846.

Richmond's failure to give clear and dynamic leadership of The Anti-League was crucial. In refusing to agree to the mixing of political action and agricultural matters, Richmond was adhering to the principles of the Royal Agricultural Society, which was pledged to avoid involvement. When he agreed to allow The Anti-League to engage in political matters, the results were effective but it was too late. Still, Richmond could not accept that the final battle had been lost, and he continued to work actively for the Protectionist cause, and not only for its effects on agriculture. Richmond saw the Anti-Corn Law League as the embodiment of middle and

1. Morning Post, Jan 30, 1844, quoted in T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.133.

2. John Bull, Dec 27, 1845 in T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.133.

3. Ibid.

working class democratic aims. The speech he made at the annual dinner of the Protection Society on January 24th, 1846 indicated his underlying concerns: ' I will ask you if the Anti-Corn Law League succeed in ruining the agricultural interest - I will ask you whether they will stop there? Did you ever know success produce moderation upon any political party? It is the first step: they feel it is the yeomanry of England and the agricultural interest of the Empire that stand between¹ them and the democratic principles which they wish to carry out.'. His conviction that Repeal was a threat to traditional society was made very clear when, in February 1846, he warned the Lords that 'the Anti-Corn Law League will never be dissolved until it has destroyed the Church and every other institution in the country.'. Richmond continued to speak at dinners, to preside over rallies and other large gatherings at which motions were passed and resolutions adopted, but little was² achieved.

The Corn Laws were repealed in May 1846, by a majority of 98. 231 Conservative backbenchers voted against Peel, including the four M.Ps for West Sussex and³ Chichester. Two of these were Richmond's sons, the Earl of March and Lord Lennox, who were among the majority of silent members. Ferrand thought it was particularly disgraceful that Richmond had put his sons into the Commons yet they never spoke. He wrote to Disraeli 'If they could speak in the House...all would be well, but...they cannot say boo to a goose.'. The Richmond interest had voted as one on the Repeal⁴ question.

1. Morning Herald, Jan 13, 1846, quoted in R. Stewart, The Politics of Protection 1971 p.94.

2. Richmond in J. Irving, Annals of Our Time, 1890, Feb 16, 1846.

3. Hansard vol. LXXXVI, May 15, 1846.

4. J. Morley, The Life of Richard Cobden, 1879, p.384.

It is hardly surprising that after 1846, much confusion persisted within the agricultural interest, and this made the coming to terms with Repeal exceedingly difficult. This was not good for estate management since estates were dependent on economies of scale, and little time existed for indecision. For some whose involvement in the debate had been deep, it was difficult to believe that 1846 was the final battle, and the perspective they brought to bear on the running of their estates was inevitably coloured by an expectation of a fall in prices, disaster for¹ the agricultural interest, and the hope of a further legislative change. With hindsight, the crises of the 1840s did not turn out to be the final agony of capitalism and a prelude to revolution, but were instead the preface to a period of expansion. Engels expected American or German competition to end Britain's industrial monopoly and precipitate revolution, or that the polarisation of society would continue until the workers seized power. However, at some point between 1842 and 1848 stands the 'boundary mark which separates the 'bleak years' from the golden boom of Victorian capitalism', but for those whose eyes were fixed on a return to² Protection, this boundary mark passed un-noticed.

If some Protectionist landlords failed to adopt effective strategies and to make the most of the new situation in their estate management after 1846, it was partly because the action to be taken by Protectionists after Repeal was not clear, and reflected a general disorganisation which resulted from a lack of clarity in their thinking, a failure to sort out priorities, and ineffective leadership. These factors pervaded the campaign itself, and prevented the Protectionists from seizing

1. This will be further discussed in Chapter 4 'The Financial Context of the Goodwood Estate'.

2. Hobsbawm in Engels The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1969 edn. p.14.

opportunities both before 1846 and in the years which followed.

Some aristocratic protectionists admitted that the cause was lost, but for others there were breaches to heal, which demanded that they should keep pressing for a return to Protection. The most serious breach for a paternalist was that within the agricultural interest, between the farmers and their landlords. Some claimed that 'a bond of loyalty had been broken' and this was highly significant for those such as Richmond, who held to the traditional structure of rural society with its emphasis on
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bonds, mutual trust and dependence. Even after Repeal, 'no less a keen disappointment for farmers was the abandonment of Protection by many of the
2
aristocracy who had been traditional supporters of land'. For one such as Richmond who constantly stressed the bonds which united the agricultural interest, this was a particularly worrying accusation, and he redoubled his efforts. He tried to emphasise the bonds by warning that 'landlords, tenant and labourers would cease to exist as a class in this country', and this remained a firm conviction with him for
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many years. Despite the arguments, support dropped rapidly after Repeal. At the Central Agricultural Protection meeting, 900 attended in 1845, and only 500 in the following year, when Richmond warned that the ultimate end of Repeal would be 'to
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create a democratic ascendancy in every part of England'. The fact that Richmond issued this as a warning indicates much about his anxieties that Repeal was not merely an agricultural issue, and his conviction that aristocratic leadership was under threat, but was worth preserving.

1. Spectator, quoted in T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p. 134.

2. Ibid.

3. S.A.E. Jan 10, 1846.

4. Ibid.

For some, the problems of leadership proved to be the final straw, for Bentinck, the Protectionist leader in the Commons, had made little contribution to the business of the House. Crosby calculates that he had said nothing in the Commons for 18 years,¹ and his reputation rested on his sporting interests. He carried the support of neither Lord Stanley, the Protectionist leader in the Lords, nor the confidence of his own back benchers. He did have Richmond's support, but this resulted from their common interest in horse racing, and they had been personal friends for many years. This friendship probably clouded Richmond's judgement and prevented him from seeing Bentinck's shortcomings as a leader. When Bentinck resigned in 1848, it left the Protectionists without a leader in the Commons, and the brief, unsuccessful attempt of the Marquis of Granby to lead them only served to illustrate the low quality of leadership available to them by this stage.² Disraeli was unacceptable to some of the committed Protectionists whose views on religious matters were narrow, and Lord Stanley was left to manage the affairs of the Protectionists from his seat in the Lords. Interest in the cause faded again, but was revived in early 1849, stimulated by falling prices. A series of by-elections early in the year returned Protectionist candidates in Reading, South Staffordshire, Kidderminster, Cork and North Hampshire.

Despite further back bench unhappiness with the appointment, Disraeli became leader of the Protectionists in the Commons, but his speech in which he praised Protection as the best commercial policy for Britain, was to prove a disappointment to his followers.³ He did not have the passionate commitment to Protectionism as a cause which Richmond and some of the others had. Disraeli explained that he would

1. T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.134; D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.85
2. N. Gash, Aristocracy and People: Britain, 1815-1865, 1979, pp. 243/4.
3. Hansard, vol.CVIII, Aug 17, 1849.

not seek a return to Protection, proposing rather that the financial charges on land should be reviewed and revised. The motion was lost, but this was a theme to which Richmond often returned.

In May of that year, Richmond presided over a huge gathering in London, where resolutions were passed 'to the effect that free trade had failed to produce the benefit predicted by its promoters'. Worse than this, it had resulted in 'deep injury to many of the great interests in the country', and those present agreed to form a 'National Association for the Protection of British Industry and Capital',¹ another association which had little effect on the situation. It certainly brought the return of Protection no nearer, and merely prevented the participants from accepting the reality of the situation, and from seizing whatever new opportunities² were there, as they waited for a chance to return to the old ways. Yet there were still signs of hope for the Protectionists in 1849, and in the summer popular support for the cause was widening.

In the House of Lords, Richmond, Stanley, Redesdale and Malmesbury drew up an amendment to the Queen's speech which would have forced ministers to acknowledge the existence of the agricultural depression which was making itself felt, and there was a strong demand for a return to full Protection as the winter drew on, but the motion was lost by the narrowest of margins - 52 votes to 50 - and the failure of the³ leadership to rally support was crucial.

1. T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.157
2. J. Irving, Annals of Our Time, 1890, May 1, 1849.
3. T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.158

Richmond failed to seize another opportunity when in 1849, the Morning Post with its Protectionist editor C.E. Michele, was on the verge of bankruptcy, and appealed to Buckingham and Richmond for financial aid. Buckingham had had to sell much of his estate to pay off his debts by this time, and he was in no position to save the failing paper. Richmond offered no help either. It may have been his own pessimism which made him reluctant to invest his estate's profits on such a venture, but whatever the reason, the loss of the Morning Post as a Protectionist voice was undoubtedly a blow.

Bereft of clear leadership, the regional Protection societies began to disintegrate - the Oxford Society was dissolved in December 1849 - and the new decade opened with disorderly gatherings in Stafford, Stepney, Lincoln and elsewhere when Protectionists and Free Traders clashed. Richmond retained his Protectionist sentiments, but in April 1850, he seemed to be accepting the realities of the situation, for 'the government unfortunately were too deeply pledged to their particular view to return to a system of Protection'. It was clear that the acceptance was not permanent, however, for in the same speech, he expressed his conviction that before long 'there would be but one feeling in the British Empire' and this unity would be 'loudly expressed in favour of a return to a system of adequate Protection.'. The Duke seemed to have learned something from the Anti-League's lack of activity in the mid forties, for this time it was he who asked the farmers to bring their grievances before Parliament. He urged them to consider carefully their own spokesmen and to exert pressure on M.P.s. They should 'select no representatives who were not Protectionists', and 'bind and fetter their members so that they should not permit them to do anything but vote in favour of Protection.'.

1. R. Stewart The Politics of Protection, 1971, p.94.

2. J. Irving, Annals of Our Time, 1890, Dec. 1, 1849 & Jan.10, 1850.

3. Richmond in Hansard vol. CX Apr/May 1850 p.679; T.L. Crosby, English Farmers and the Politics of Protection 1815-52, 1977, p.134.

Sussex did not provide Richmond with the support for Protection which it once might have done. George Wyndham at Petworth was not the active agriculturist his father had been, and Sussex had changed its opinions during the years. A general meeting arranged by the National Association for the Protection of Industry and Capital in May 1850¹ was well attended, but the west of Sussex was unrepresented. Despite the Duke's staunch support for the cause, the opinion of the Sussex Advertiser was that it was time to abandon Protection, and to adopt a new perspective on the situation. The paper advised him to 'take a leaf out of Sir James Elphinstone's book and leave despondency and protection where, if he do not, they will infallibly leave him, namely in the lurch.'² The Duke's warnings were to go unheeded, although his own pessimism continued to affect the running of his own estate.³ In his estate accounts, it is clear that a fall in prices and rents was expected, since the estate was making plans on the assumption that rents would be lower, and 'despondency and Protection' were bracketed together.

This contradicted the general mood in the country in 1851. The Protectionists had been 'awkward' about the Great Exhibition, which had proved to be such a popular success, and Perry's judgement was that, despite the rallies they were still holding, like the huge one that took place in Drury Lane in 1851, they were eventually reduced to 'an impotent and eccentric minority of wishful thinkers.'⁴ Contemporaries warned of the dire effects their ideas would have on farming, and Mechi's view of their doctrine was that it was the vision of 'melancholy Protectionists, desirous to prove by it the utter ruin of British agriculture.'⁵ Briggs describes how by the end of

1. P.J. Perry : 'A Note on the Geography of Protectionist Sentiment in 1850.' J.Hist.Geog. 2,2, 1976, p.163.
2. S.A.E. Aug 27, 1850.
3. This will be further discussed in Chapter 4.
4. P.J. Perry : 'A Note on the Geography of Protectionist Sentiment in 1850.', J.Hist. Geog 2 2, 1976, p.163.
5. J.J. Mechi Second Paper on British Agriculture, 1851, p.4; A. Briggs, Victorian People, 1955, p.25.

1851, some of the recalcitrant Protectionists had unobtrusively dropped some of their anti-free trade slogans of 1846, and Disraeli was openly warning that Protectionism would never return, unless the whole nation should declare 'in an unmistakeable manner that it was for the interest of all classes such a system ought to regulate the
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national industry.'

Disraeli was anxious to stress that it was the whole nation which should be
2
considered, and that the agricultural interest could not think of itself as special.
One of Richmond's constant themes concerned the relative positions of the agricultural and manufacturing interests but he complained that, far from receiving favoured treatment, agriculture was not receiving the same benefits as industry. In 1845, he saw manufacturing as the recipient of favoured treatment from the Government. In an answer to the Queen's speech, he pointed out that the manufacturing interest had a 'Board of Trade which communicated with the government
4
on trade and commerce' but 'there was no equivalent body for agriculture.'. Six years later, he was still predicting that 'instead of agriculture being more flourishing than manufactures and commerce, it would become even more depressed, and the whole be involved in ruin.'. He argued for a return to Protection 'in order to restore the energies of the British farmers', and still at the back of his mind were the relative positions of agriculture and manufacture. He warned the Lords that in 1846, everyone had agreed that 'the burdens upon land should under free trade be got rid of', but clearly this had not happened. As evidence of this, Richmond pointed to the great agricultural distress, and warned that where agriculture and manufacturing

1. J. Irving, Annals of Our Time, 1890, Aug 1851, p.335.

2. J. Irving, Annals of Our Time, 1890, August 1851, p.335.3. Hansard vol. LXXVII, Feb 1845, p.23;

4. Hansard vol. CXIV, Feb 4th, 1851, pp.33, 792 and 796.

were concerned, 'instead of getting where the manufacturer was, the manufacturers¹
would find themselves shortly where the agriculturists now were.'

This was a view which was to disappear with the fifth Duke's death for, even in the early fifties, his son stated quite clearly that during his 14 years as an M.P., he had studied the agricultural interest, but he had considered those connected with commerce and manufacture as well. Whereas his father saw the agricultural interest as the true source of prosperity and the foundation of British prosperity, the Earl of March had already accepted by 1854 that 'It would be absurd and indeed injurious²
if gentlemen were sent to Parliament to please one class and one class only.'

The pressure on estate management increased as the opinion was expressed that those who sought the return of Protection were inefficient, and looked for some way of being propped up by others. Pamphlets and books offered ideas as to 'the best substitute for Protection', and some writers of the early fifties attempted to show³ that the whole topic was anachronistic and irrelevant to tenants and landlords alike. 'If Protection again be obtained, then good farming will be more remunerative than⁴
bad, and under free trade, it will be just the same.'

There was a clear need for the owners of great estates who had embraced the Protectionist philosophy to change their perspectives, if their tenants were to be successful from the mid century onwards. The tenants would need to change their perspectives, their techniques, their objectives and their understanding of farming,

1. Hansard vol. CXIV, Feb 4th, 1851, pp.33, 792 and 796.

2. S.A.E. Supplement Dec 15, 1854.

3. J. Caird, High Farming under Liberal Covenants, 1849, p.1.

4. J.L. Morton, Rich Farming and Co-operation Between Landlord and tenant, 1851, p.4.

for a farmer 'must have certain advantages and a different way of farming from that
¹
 which commanded success under high prices'. It was particularly important for
 aristocratic owners of great estates to adopt a realistic approach, since they were
 so integrated into the fabric of rural society, and were looked to as leaders of
 agriculture in their areas: a backward-looking perspective which awaited the return
 of Protection was not helpful in the development of estates, nor did it support the
 enterprise and initiative which was needed. Some estates changed rapidly, and others
 never managed to come to terms with the new situation. Writing in 1866, Good was
 still arguing for a return to Protection, and saw the 20 years following Repeal as 'a
 continuous system of one-eyed legislation, and the shut eye was pointing towards the
²
 agricultural interest.'

For the estates of most Protectionists, however, there was a need for the management
 to adapt to face a competitive situation where the farming of its tenants was
 concerned, since in Morton's eyes, 'the firm oaks of Protection have been removed'
 and in this sense, efficiency and improvement were the only kinds of protection the
³
 agricultural interest could use. Mechi's Second Paper on British Agriculture
 argued for improvement as the only way forward, as did Morton's book Rich Farming and
⁴
Co-operation between Landlord and Tenant. Underlying all these was the
 implicit assumption that relationships between the various members of rural society
 were changing, and that shifts in roles would be necessary - sometimes subtle, but
 sometimes substantial. What this would do to the traditional roles and relationships
 of rural society in an area like the west of Sussex where the traditional patterns

1. J.L. Morton, Rich Farming and Co-operation Between Landlord and tenant, 1851, p.20.
2. W.Good Political, Agricultural and Commercial Fallacies, 1866 pp 18/19.
3. J.L. Morton, op. cit. p.3.
4. J.J. Mechi Second Paper on British Agriculture, 1851 p.4; J.L. Morton, Ibid. op. cit. p.3.

landownership patterns were still intact was revealed in the developments of the fifties as the agriculturists accommodated the necessary changes into their lives. The fifth Duke of Richmond was to remain master of Goodwood for another ten years after the mid century, and the acceptance of new perspectives was no easy task.

CHAPTER THREE

PATERNALISM AT GOODWOOD, 1846-1860

Having established in chapter one the significance of the landed aristocracy in the patterns of traditional landownership which existed in Sussex, the nature of paternalism at Goodwood and how it operated can be examined. The political power of the aristocracy had been weakened by more than one event since the 19th century began, and Repeal was yet another example of a continuing process in this direction. Aristocratic economic standing was further challenged by the new industrial sources of wealth, yet through all this, aristocratic social power and influence survived. Such control was partly made possible by the estate system, exemplified by the kind of social relationships which operated on the Goodwood estate.

This chapter considers the way in which paternalism manifested itself on the estate between Repeal and the death of the fifth Duke in 1860, and the basis on which labourers could expect support from their paternalistic landlord. It will show that much of the paternalism at Goodwood during this time was a development of earlier activities, which flourished within the confines of the estate. Yet the relationship between the economic structure of society and paternalism was such that changes in the former were bound to produce modifications in the latter, and it follows that the changing economic situation brought about by Repeal, the short sharp depression of the years 1849-53 and subsequent prosperity were reflected in shifts in the type of paternalism which was appropriate. In this way, within paternalism there existed both continuity and change.

The chapter will also argue that paternalism was not based on the meeting of needs, but on merit. The aim of the paternalist was to help those who showed they deserved

support and encouragement, and not to help those in need. It was merit based paternalism rather than needs based paternalism which was in evidence at Goodwood, and both temporal and spiritual authorities joined in encouraging meritorious behaviour. Face to face contact continued to play an important part, as did those ritualistic events which strengthened paternalism through upper and lower class interaction. These activities enabled the implicit assumptions on which rural society was based to be made explicit, and to reinforce the role of landlord as protector, guide and father of an agricultural family which was bound together by mutual dependence.

The character of paternalism in the decades of the mid-century had much in common with what had gone before. Many of the factors which characterised paternalism in the early Victorian period and before were still present and basic assumptions about society were still remarkably similar. The importance of private property, the ranks and orders of society, the inevitability of social inequality, the rights and duties of landlords, the obedience of the workers to their 'pastors and masters' still prevailed.¹ Palmerston described how 'every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned to it' and Bagehot that 'A country of respectful poor ... is ... far more fitted for the best government.'²

The paternalists still saw themselves as having distinct duties to perform and clear purposes in life. To many paternalists, the concern they had for other members of the community was genuine, and their responsibilities were based on a real understanding of the other layers in traditional society. Lord Shaftesbury

1. G. Eliot, Felix Holt, 1866, p.111.

2. Palmerston in Hansard, 1850, quoted in A. Briggs A Social History of England, 1983, p.230; W. Bagehot, The English Consitution, 1862, quoted in A. Briggs op.cit., 1983, p.230.

seemed to be convinced that if landowners 'do their duties by the people on their estates', all would be well under free trade although, on coming into his title, he agonised over his desire to alleviate the distress of the workers on his estate who lived in appalling conditions, whilst he was in debt and did not have the capital to

¹
help them. To others, this picture of paternalism was not as clear cut, and there was frequently a gap between the rhetoric and the reality. Their aimless indifference is portrayed in the character of the squire in Kingsley's Yeast and in

²
Lady Dedlock in Bleak House, utterly bored by visits to her 'place' in Lincolnshire. That the indifference could be fatal is directly addressed in Mary Barton, when the question is asked 'If my child lies dying....for want of better food than I could
³
give him, does the rich man bring the wine or broth that could save his life?'.
³

Yet despite the way in which some paternalists fell short in the performance of their duties, there were many examples of diligent and conscientious landowners, both before and during the Victorian period. *The previous chapter has shown that examples of Sussex paternalism existed in the late 18th century, when the third Duke of Richmond at Goodwood and the third Earl of Egremont at Petworth, established traditions of paternalism and it is clear from the early Victorian period that the fifth Duke continued to develop paternalistic relationships and practices. Far removed from these philosophies and practices were the self-interest and arrogance of some paternalists satirised by the mid-century novelists. Self-interest is personified by Sir Austin Feverel, father of the hero in Meredith's The Ordeal of Richard Feverel and the Countess Louisa in Evan Harrington is so full of social*

1. E. Hodder, Life and Times of Lord Shaftesbury, 1886, p.126; J.L. and B. Hammond, Lord Shaftesbury, 1923, p.173.

2. C.Kingsley, Yeast, 1851; C.Dickens, Bleak House, 1851, p.23

3. E.Gaskell, Mary Barton, 1848.

snobbery that 'she almost deceives herself', and Dickens's Sir Leicester Dedlock 'has a general opinion that the world might get on without hills but would be done up without Dedlocks'.¹ It was essential for the successful workings of effective paternalism that the landlord should look beyond himself and consider the wellbeing of those who were dependent upon him.

It was still important that paternalism operated within a local sphere, where the development of face to face contact and detailed knowledge were significant. The close public proximity of the various members of different classes at specific events could be encompassed within events organised by the Church and in the focal points of the agricultural calendar. Relationships between the classes continued to be expressed in terms of deference, gratitude, dependence and duty. The landlord continued to have some responsibility for the education of the young, some care for the sick, and to provide aid in times of adversity. Much remained basically the same, although there were three major areas of change in the paternalism of the mid century.

First, there was a change in that imagery which was used to express the relationships between the various members of that society; second, paternalistic duties came to be seen as part of agricultural improvement; and third, the links between church and landowner were at first strengthened, and then showed signs of weakening. These changes in imagery, in the links with agricultural improvement and between sacred and secular authority were evident nationally, and Goodwood reflected the national picture.

1. G.Meredith, The Ordeal of Richard Feverel 1859; G.Meredith Evan Harrington, 1861; C.Dickens, Bleak House, 1851, p.24

Earlier in the century, a much loved image had been that of the members of society being likened to links in a chain. In 1816, Southey had praised

' that appointed chain
Which when in cohesion it unites
Order to order, rank to rank,
In mutual benefit, 1
So binding heart to heart.',

but it became clear that such a picture of society was inaccurate, and becoming more so. Coleridge's concern that the social fabric 'no longer resembles a chain that ascends in a continuity of links' and comments by other writers on society as 'a mixed multitude of persons...with nothing to bind them', and fears of England as 'a disconnected society' expressed their deepest anxieties. As industrialisation and urbanisation proceeded, it became clear that this picture of a unified and interlocking society was no longer accurate. The 'condition of England question' of the forties underlined the divisions within the nation, and the variety of experience and situation was to increase. Different experiences in different parts of the country urban and rural meant that paternalism, which had varied considerably anyway, was subject to even more variety, according to the structure of society in a particular area, the influence of manufacturing, urbanisation, and a host of other factors.

The image which superseded that of the chain was that of the family and its application to agriculture was used to express the bonds which tied its various

1. R. Southey, 1830 quoted in D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.30.
2. Coleridge, Letters, Conversations and Reflections, 1836, p.172; A. Helps, The Claims of Labour, 1844, p. viii; T.Arnold, The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold, 1845, p.459.

members to each other, and the responsibilities and duties which each had towards the other. Perhaps its greatest proponent was J.J. Mechi who, in the mid fifties in his book How to Farm Profitably described landlord, tenant and labourer in these terms.¹ It was a topical image in part because of the stress laid on the Royal Family itself and was the way in which 'the pride of sovereignty' could be brought down to 'the level of petty life'.² It was an image of the family which presupposed a fatherly role for the paternalist, a role which subsumed the guidance, superintendence and control which had been so important in early Victorian paternalism. It also encompassed the deference which had always been a part of rural society, and it strengthened the concept of dependence. It allowed the fatherly landlord to think and to act on behalf of the other members of the family, and was bound to come into conflict with any ideas of an autonomous tenantry, or of labourers who were economically independent.

In addition to this new image of the agricultural family, a second change was that contemporaries increasingly linked paternalism with agricultural improvement. In the years after Repeal, agricultural improvement was a common theme, and writers such as Caird, Morton, Pusey and Mechi urged landowners to see improvement as part of their duty towards their dependents.³ As a result, exhortations to improve often carried with them implications of change which would ultimately alter older forms of paternalistic relationships.

In 1857, Cross listed seven elements which should be included in agricultural improvement. Agriculturists were urged to help by the collection of statistics and

1. J.J. Mechi, How To Farm Profitably, 1857, p.363.
2. W. Bagehot, The English Constitution, 1867, Chapter 2.
3. J. Caird, High Farming under Liberal Covenants, 1851, p.1; J.L. Morton, Rich Farming and Co-operation Between Landlord and Tenant, 1851; P. Pusey, What Ought Landlords and Tenants to Do?, 1851, p.60.
3. J.J. Mechi, How To Farm Profitably, 1857, p.363.

spreading the results of scientific discoveries or technical inventions, by ensuring the existence of the facilities of encouragement for draining and by encouraging the exchange of sound practical views on agriculture. The fourth element was the

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'Improvement of the moral and physical condition of the labourers.'. This bracketing together of moral and physical aspects of the labourer's existence was common and led to investigations into their living conditions, and to the near obsession for building model cottages which had begun in the forties, and persisted through the fifties and sixties. Essays and competitions for model cottage designs appeared in the Royal Agricultural Society's journal. Inevitably, the paternalistic landlord expected a return for his investment, although it was unlikely that this would be a

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financial one. The cottages were let at low rents, and tied to the man's job, thus retaining an element of control over his conduct and that of his family. The role of the labourer as the function of the landlord was summed up by Mechi in his image of the work force as the 'apt and polished tools' which which agricultural work was to

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be accomplished. This aspect of improvement could be accomplished and leave intact landlord control and the traditional dependence of the labourer. The last three items on Cross's list threatened more far reaching changes in that they might give

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tenant and labourer a degree of autonomy hitherto unheard of. Dependence and deference might not be immediately threatened by the free granting of leases with liberal covenants, the abolition of manorial rights and stewards rights, or the cheap and easy transfer of land, but they were moves towards a situation of more equal participation between the parties.

1. F. Cross, Landed Property, its Sale, Purchase and General Management, 1857, p.7.
2. See for example, H.S. Thompson, 'Remarks by the Judges on J.A.S. Competition for Farm Buildings,' J.R.A.S.E. 1850; T.E. Kebbel The Agricultural Labourer, 1870, p.24.
3. Ibid. p.44; J.J.Mechi, 1st Paper on British Agriculture, 1850, p.11.
4. F.Cross, Landed Property, its Sale, Purchase and General Management, 1857, p.227.

The third change was closely connected to what Hall has described as 'the single most¹ widespread influence in Victorian England', that is Evangelical morality. The duty of the aristocracy to support the twin pillars of the constitution - Church and State - was not new, but a 'new seriousness and respectability in life' which resulted in the fifties characterised both evangelicalism and paternalism. The similarities² between the two philosophies are marked. The links were inevitable since the evangelicals were members of the Church of England, staunch in their support and anxious to reform it from the inside. Aristocratic paternalists were, on the whole, Anglicans who looked to the parish, the church and the structure of rural society in which secular and sacred authorities worked together. Paternalists, like Evangelicals, were prepared to accommodate reform from within if it was necessary, rather than secession. Evangelical and paternalistic ideals looked to the regeneration of society through the encouragement of each individual to improve rather than through creating new structures. If the connection between evangelicalism and paternalism was inevitable, so was an interactive relationship with self-help. Although Smiles's work was not published until 1859, as early as 1848, Englishmen were urged 'To strive to... be self-supporting,' and 'To make use of all superior advantage whether of knowledge, skill or wealth, as to promote on all occasions the general happiness of mankind.'³ Work, thrift, respectability, and above all, self help became significant watchwords for the paternalists of the fifties.⁴ There was also an element of implied conflict between them : self-help aimed at more self-reliance and autonomy, but dependence upon the landowners was an important component in maintaining paternalistic control. Yet despite the puzzle of

1. C.Hall, 'The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology' in Fit Work for Women, ed. Burman, 1979, p.18.
2. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.189.
3. Anon. A Few Questions on Secular Education by the author of The Outlines of Social Economy, 1848.
4. D.Fraser, The Evolution of the British Welfare State, 1973, pp.95,97.

how paternalism survived in a society which seemed to stress the autonomy of the individual, the link between self-help and paternalism was merit. It was to be the man who proved himself worthy of help who was to receive it.

None of these changes was clearly expressed at the time, and the three elements interacted and stimulated each other. The image and language of the family was a domestic ideology which fitted well with notions of improvement and supported the idea of self-help. Underlying them all was the Christian context which had itself been infused with a certain amount of puritanism which was in turn a response to humanitarian views of the enlightenment. Such humanitarian ideas also contributed to strengthening of a sense of paternalistic responsibility.

These changes have never been tested against the records of the day to day working out of a landowner's philosophy in practical terms on his estate. Briggs points out that 'The domestic ties of the family were sung more loudly than at any other period of English history', and Hall has shown the significance of Victorian domestic
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ideology. Much of the essential ritualistic element in paternalism is to be found
2
in Bushaway's description of rural festivals which occurred By Rite. Many of the sentiments which underlay such events in nineteenth century rural society display similarity with Thompson's 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', and although he suggests that paternalism was at a point of crisis in the eighteenth century, it is clear from Goodwood that the very flexibility of paternalism enabled it to adapt and
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survive, particularly in a rural area such as the west of Sussex.

1. A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1869, 1959, p.459; C. Hall, 'The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology' in Fit Work for Women, ed. Burman, 1979, p.29.
2. R. Bushaway, By Rite, 1982.
3. E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, Summer 1974.

Improvement, in terms of moral improvement was of particular importance to the landowners of the great estates. Although the ideology of self help was of middle class origin, its impact was wide, 'floating upwards into the ranks of the landed aristocracy, which became permeated with notions of service, respectability and, at least in public, a stricter religious observance and moral code.', and Fraser suggests that it was the working class adoption of this philosophy which reduced the fear of 'working class spoilation' and replaced it with a respect for the 'diligence, industry and soundness of the English working class'.¹ Gosden has shown how this notion of self-help resulted in a considerable increase in voluntary associations during the period.² The relationship between paternalism and evangelicalism undoubtedly had an effect on these trends. It does seem less likely to be one of cause and effect, than to be two similar responses to rapid change (or the threat of it) and an attempt to 'build a protected space in a hostile world.'³

The case study of Sussex which Roberts put together in Paternalism in Early Victorian England showed how landowners of the great estates led the way in displaying paternalistic attitudes which permeated Victorian society, particularly in rural communities.⁴ Moral reform was not possible without the support of the ruling classes and the established Church, and these are the very agencies which Roberts has cited as prime movers in paternalistic endeavours in the early Victorian period. Evangelical and Paternalistic ideals looked to the regeneration of society through the encouragement of each individual to improve, rather than through creating new structures.

1. D.Fraser, The Evolution of the British Welfare State, 1973, pp.95,97.

2. P.H.J.H. Gosden, Self Help, 1973, Chapter 3.

3. Hall C. 'The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology' in Fit Work for Women, ed. Burman, 1979, p.18.

4. D. Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, Chapter 1V, The Patriarchy of Sussex.

Roberts's analysis is of particular relevance to this study because he dealt with the fifth Duke of Richmond as one of the key figures in Sussex during the early Victorian period. In Roberts's analysis, the Duke of Richmond appeared as a dedicated paternalist and an important figure in the social fabric of the west of Sussex. His power was clearly demonstrated: two of his sons and one brother sat in the House of Commons with three other Sussex M.P.s, and as Lord Lieutenant of the county, the Duke appointed the Sussex Bench, and sat on the Bench himself in the western division of the county, along with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Egmont.¹ He does not single out Richmond for criticism as being 'infinitely condescending' towards the poor as the Duke of Norfolk was, but described the Sussex aristocrats in general as 'condescending, moralistic, insensitive and smug.'² He criticised Richmond's harshness towards erring workers, the low wages he paid, his autocratic approach, and his failure to provide adequate cottages and schools. On the other hand, he praised Richmond for his action in being 'energetic and attentive to the poor' and for his involvement as part of the local community.³ The fifth Duke was full of praise for those who 'reside on their estates and encourage rural sports' and his respect for the traditional values was evident. The 'plain-spoken, crusty duke' was quite open about the material advantage for landlords of granting allotments to labourers, and described it as 'granting them a stake in the hedge', but would have found it difficult to express the relationship between landlord and labourer in economic terms.⁴ For him, 'the man who labours for affection is worth a hundred who work for hire'⁵ and this attitude summed up the Duke's paternalistic expectations.

1. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.106.
2. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.109.
3. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.108.
4. Ibid.
S.A.E. Dec 14, 1844.
5. S.A.E. June 5, 1847.

Much of Roberts's analysis is helpful in drawing a detailed picture of paternalistic activity in Sussex during the early Victorian period, but it does have shortcomings. One major problem is created by Robert's sources. He has used detailed newspaper evidence, but rarely tests this against the estate papers which indicate whether or not the landowner practised his theory in day to day practical terms. He has taken a narrow view of estates and the spheres within which they operated, divorcing the paternalistic role of the landowner from his economic function. He dealt with the paternalist's role as guardian of traditional institutions without considering the leadership of improved agriculture and the potential conflict which this implied. Roberts criticised the Sussex paternalists for 'the often overlooked importance of the tenant farmer', yet because of his failure to use the estate papers, consideration of the tenant farmer's changing role forms only a very small part of his analysis, giving an uncomfortable feeling of Sussex as a two class society - landlord and labourer, with very little in between. Finally, Roberts asked whether paternalism was successful in meeting the needs of the poor and has concluded that the paternalism of Sussex 'never met the age-old needs of the rural poor as fully as its defenders claimed or hoped.'¹ To say this is to misunderstand a fundamental truth about paternalism. To test paternalistic rhetoric against the criterion of whether the needs of the rural poor were met was testing it against something it was never intended to, for paternalism was not needs-based. The poor were in need, but in the eyes of the paternalist, need did not automatically qualify them for assistance. The Richmonds never claimed that they were trying to meet the needs of the rural poor, for paternalism was not altruistic and a set of expectations operated which expected certain standards of behaviour and the adoption of a specific code of conduct by those who were the recipients of paternalistic benefits.²

1. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.122.

2. Ibid.

Merit and duty were the key words of mid century paternalism, and from Repeal to the fifth Duke's death, paternalism at Goodwood continued to be based on the ideal of the landowner's duties towards those in his sphere of operation who merited his help. The setting at Goodwood lent itself to paternalistic philosophy and activity since the estate was set in a rural area in which the Duke of Richmond was a key figure. It was in a small context that paternalism operated best: 'to know and be known by those one governed was central to English paternalism,' and there was a great need¹ for 'private attachment and local knowledge.' An estate set in a rural area provided a small locality in terms of population and geographical area within which to establish control.

In the fifties, the fifth Duke persisted in the paternalism which had characterised his first thirty years as master of Goodwood, and if anything, the paternalistic framework was strengthened. A significant factor in this was his decision to spend more time at Goodwood after Repeal: his political career was less important to him after this point, and poor health also encouraged him to remain on his estate for a considerable part of the year. He found this no hardship, for he had always enjoyed his time at Goodwood, and it enabled him to continue the development of face to face contacts so essential for the workings of paternalism. He was at pains to stress the longstanding nature of this approach, and to give examples of how important face to face contacts were on the estate. Thus he told the Royal Scottish Agricultural Society in 1850 that 'more than all, the tenant should know his landlord personally, and not through his factor.', and in a local speech, he spoke of how 'I find myself

1. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.34.

surrounded by farmers who have known me from my earliest youth, and who have every opportunity of knowing my private character as a man, and my conduct as a
1
landowner.'.

The local sphere within which paternalism thrived could be encompassed effectively on a great estate. The Duke's contact with tenants and labourers resulted in a detailed knowledge of many aspects of agricultural life which he was pleased to display whenever possible. In the Factory Bill debate, he challenged Lord Brougham's opinions on agricultural labourers. The latter had asserted that 'they sat on the sunny side of the hedge and ate their meat and drank their beer, and would drink more
2
of it if the malt tax were repealed.'. The Duke of Richmond was sceptical about Brougham's knowledge of the realities of the life of an agricultural labourer. 'Where had the noble lord been living,' he asked, 'for he (the fifth Duke) very much
3
doubted whether he had ever been inside an agricultural labourer's cottage.'. His knowledge of day to day affairs on the estate was quite considerable: when he was in London, the agent was expected to be in daily contact with him. His desire for involvement and detailed knowledge of the estate were of benefit to the management at times: when one of the agents died suddenly in 1858 and Dr Hair, the Duke's secretary, took over the task of looking at requisitions for improvements which tenants had sent in, Richmond was able to contribute some detailed advice. Concerning a cottage in East Hampnett, Dr Hair commented 'Mr Arras in my opinion made a great mistake in not battening the weather walls - no economy in the long run - the house is your property - the damp state of the walls is such (which I saw last

1. S.A.E. Aug 27, 1850;

S.A.E. Jan 10, 1846.

2. Quoted in J.Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.70.

3. Ibid.

week) that no paper can ever adhere to them.' The Duke readily gave his opinion 'Battening of the rooms will not prevent the walls being damp, it will only afford a dry surface for paper.'. He then went on to suggest an alternative strategy: 'The question is whether it is better to do that or cement the outside exposed walls.', but he agreed that 'Whitewash and colouring the walls should be done.'. Such knowledge of practicalities was impressive, but the Duke also showed that he knew the actual cottage and its situation. The original letter referred only to a 'Cottage in East Hampnett', but the Duke finished his advice by instructing that 'The new wall where the old barn stood may remain as it is until Mr Wilson reports upon it. Duke of Richmond.'. 2

Face to face contact, so necessary for the workings of paternalism was created at specific points in the agricultural year when the Duke became part of the social scene which enabled tenants and townspeople alike to engage in some sort of contact with him. He chaired meetings, presided at dinners and shows, and arranged opportunities for the different groups which made up the agricultural interest in the locality to gather together. This was carefully organised. The racing at Goodwood became something of a spectacle, with the aristocracy playing the leading roles. In 1845, one eye witness wrote 'An aristocratic atmosphere pervades the whole scene. With magnificent scenery, first rate racing, the cream of England's best society to inspirit and gratify him, a stranger would indeed be fastidious who did not consider Goodwood the perfection and paradise of race grounds.'. 3 A spectacle presupposes spectators, and during the fifth Duke's time, a complete metamorphosis of the race

1. Goodwood ms, E5084, Letter from Dr Hair to Richmond, with the latter's comments.
2. Goodwood ms, E5084, Requisition with comments from Richmond and Dr Hair, 1858.
3. J.Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.99

course had taken place with spectators in mind: the first racecourse in the country to be so planned. From the winter of 1829 when the race course was relaid and the plateau of the finishing straight was extended, the racing was redesigned. Twenty to thirty guests stayed at Goodwood House each year, with another dozen at Molecomb, the dower house, and events took on something of a ritualistic nature. Carriages were kept for the procession up to the course: an open landau, a brougham and a phaeton; postillions in red and white striped jackets, and footmen in red and white livery attended. Luncheon was sent to the course from Goodwood House, and the procession returned in time to take tea in the conservatory. On the final day, the entire party went to Chichester for a ball. Goodwood House itself had a ballroom, so in a sense there was no need to travel to the town, but the real purpose of the event was another public cementing of relationships between estate and town.

A spectacle presupposes spectators, but the events associated with the racecourse did not demand spectators in a passive way. These activities were part of rituals to reaffirm the respective parts played by upper and lower classes in rural society. The development of the racecourse provided an arena in which they could meet, and would have made the Duke popular with the lower classes in the area. It is clear from newspaper reports that a large number of ordinary people did attend the races. Crime became something of a problem. Pickpocketing, the stealing of beer and brandy from the refreshment tents, thieving from lodgings by racegoers and drunk and disorderly behaviour were reported. There was even a thriving black market trade in tickets and forged passes, for which a Goodwood worker was charged.

1. D.Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.109.

2. Ibid. p.114.

3. Ibid. p.95.

4. W.S.G. July 5, 1860.

5. Ibid.

reporters were members of the audience, and contributed to the success of the spectacle by describing the scene in glowing terms: 'the whole estate with its clean little cottages, well cultivated fields and trimly kept farm buildings combined together just such a picture as an Englishman would be proud to draw in exemplifying the grandeur and goodness of England's old nobilitie.'. There is about this report something of the nostalgia due to a disappearing scene, and indications are to be found that the preservation of such a quaint picture had its price. Communications at Goodwood had been poor, although the coming of the railway had improved matters, since 'the number of people visiting the races has grown as the facilities of getting there have increased.'. Yet the problems persisted, and when a newspaper reporter tried to send out a parcel from Goodwood, he was unable to because 'the flymen are¹ too dishonest, and the rustics are too stupid to trust.'.

Clearly, an idealised picture was often painted at the races, for in the following year, the reporter commented on the well-established nature of the races, which were the same every year, including the fact that 'the rural lanes of this district are everywhere visited by a lot of wretched tramps.', who were not mentioned at all in the idyllic scene depicted in the previous year.

The social occasions for the upper classes and the lower classes may have gone hand in hand, but there were always clear demarcation lines - what Trollope called 'the dreadful line which must be drawn between the quality and the rest.'. The line was essential because paternalism still presupposed and even valued the ranks and orders

1. W.S.G. July 5, 1860.
2. W.S.G. Aug 1st, 1861.
3. A.Trollope, Barchester Towers, 1857, p.316.

of society and social inequality. Sometimes demarcation appeared in the form of a time lag: the social occasions celebrating the same event might be separated by several days. The element of spectacle was still preserved however, and the lower classes were encouraged to fill the roles of spectator, even from a distance. On the Earl of March's coming of age in 1839, when the interior of the ballroom wing of Goodwood House was finally completed, the Duke provided a stag hunt, followed by a¹ ball and supper for 700 of his guests. There were illuminations in the park which caused some concern when the trees were set on fire, and a huge bonfire was lit on top of the Trundle Hill, the highest point in the area and visible from miles around.

The celebration for the lower orders followed in the next week, when 200 of the Duke's tenants and their friends were entertained to dinner, and each employee² received a donation. It was not uncommon for money to be given on such occasions: from the Norfolk estates in 1853, the Express noted that 'the Earl of Arundel and Surrey has caused 10/- to be paid to every poor person in the borough on the occasion³ of the birth of a second son fo the illustrious house of Howard.'

At other times, the various classes might be present at the same event, in which case, the 'demarcation line' was indicated by space in the room. Attempting to divide her guests, Trollope's Miss Thorne wondered 'where will you put Mrs Lookaloft, whose husband, though a tenant, hunts in a red coat, whose daughters go to a fashionable seminary in Barchester, who calls her farmhouse 'Rosebank' and who has⁴ a pianoforte in her drawing room?'. In an area like Sussex, the divisions were more clear cut, and might concern where a man sat in the room during the West Sussex

1. Kirby The English Country Gentleman, n.d. p.346.
2. The Goodwood Estate Company, Goodwood, n.d.; Kirby, The English Country Gentleman, n.d., p.146.
3. S.A.E. Dec.17, 1853
4. A.Trollope, Barchester Towers, 1857, p.316.

Agricultural Association's dinner where the Duke of Richmond referred to the labourers as his friends 'at the end of the room', or it might determine where a man¹ marched in a procession. When the celebrations for the rebuilding of the spire of Chichester Cathedral were under way, they began with a procession, led by the sixth Duke of Richmond and the Bishop, followed by the clergy, prominent townspeople, tenants and the workers at the end. Similarly, the annual sheepshearing at Goodwood was followed by a procession with demaraction according to the various social groups.

At the West Sussex Agricultural Association meeting at Goodwood in 1856, the band of the Royal Sussex Infantry Militia played and were followed in the procession by the girls and boys of the union school, then the meritorious labourers, the shearers, the² Duke of Richmond and finally, friends and members of the association.

Although the demarcation lines still existed, there are some signs that the fifth Duke worked hard to strengthen the links between the various members of the agricultural interest. At the annual meeting of the Agricultural Association for West Sussex, it had been the practice to exclude the labourers from the dinner altogether, but the fifth Duke changed this, and included some of them - albeit only³ the prizewinners - and seated them at the back of the hall. Such gatherings also provided opportunities for tenants and labourers to express their deference. In Bleak House, Sir Leicester Dedlock was impressed by his old fashioned solicitor: Sir Leicester liked Mr Tulkinghorn's dress 'because it is retainer like'. Mrs Transome⁴ liked to ensure 'that a tenant should stand bareheaded before her', and Trollope's Lady Lufton thought that an English nobleman should 'receive the respect and honour⁵ due to him from his own tenants'.

1. S.A.E. Jan 28, 1854.

2. S.A.E. June 26, 1856.

3. S.A.E. Jan 28, 1854.

4. C. Dickens, Bleak House, 1851, pp.25/6.

5. G. Eliot, Felix Holt, 1866, p.106; A. Trollope, Framley Parsonage, 1861, p.150.

The public, physical proximity of landlord, tenant and labourer was crucial in making explicit the implicit assumptions which underlay rural society. For many, instability or change of the unified, hierarchical society which was traditional in English rural life was something to be feared, and its strength had to be emphasised frequently and openly. Richmond constantly stressed the unity of interest between landlord, tenant and labourer. He reported the disasters which he felt had befallen the agricultural interest, showing that this affected all layers in rural society: 'By the measure of free trade they had done neither more nor less than this : they had entirely crippled the landed interest of the country. It had ruined the landed proprietors, crushed the tenantry and forced the labourers to emigrate, and for what?' and in 1851 he commented that 'the present state of things bore hard upon the landlord, the tenant
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farmer and the agricultural labourer.'

In the mid forties, the attempts to emphasise mutual dependence and unity led to much talk of 'the bonds of union' and 'old social bonds'. The fifth Duke of Richmond spoke with feeling about the unity of interest of landlord, tenant and labourer, and warned that 'The shaft which is directed against the landowner must first go through
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the labourers and the tenants.'. He often used the idea of friendship to express the kind of relationship which existed between landlord, tenant and labourer. 'Appeal to the labourers of this country, and they will tell you that landowners are their best friends. Appeal to the tenantry, and I do not believe they will abuse their landlords.', and he told a gathering of tenants 'you will find that your landlords are your best friends ... and ... that the interest of the landlords and

1. Hansard vol CXIV, Feb 4, 1851, p.30.

2. S.A.E. Jan 10 1846.

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tenantry and the labourers is the same.'. The rhetoric was sometimes extreme: at the National Agricultural Protection Society Dinner, it was reported that the Duke said 'he should think it was the brightest jewel in his coronet to have it to say that he was a friend to the labourers' and 'there could not be a doubt that the

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landlords of England could trust their tenants.'.

Yet friendship was not really a suitable image to use carrying, as it did, implications of a measure of equality between the parties which paternalistic landlords could not possibly acknowledge. The Duke of Richmond spoke with horror of what he saw as a certainty once Repeal had been achieved the reformers would go on

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'the ultimate aim being to create a democratic ascendancy in every part of England.'.

A more satisfactory concept than friendship, and more accurate in reflecting paternalistic roles was that of the family. This was particularly appealing, since it allowed room for the fatherly oversight, guidance and control to be accommodated in the landlord's role, and was a particular concept of the family which implied a hierarchy and retained dependence and deference as major factors.

As head of the family, the landlord had protective duties to perform on behalf of his dependents. It was said by the West Sussex Gazette, that the Duke of Richmond 'carefully watched over the interests of agriculture; not only with the care of a father, but with the jealousy of a lover.', and he saw it as part of his role to speak up on behalf of the other members of the agricultural family whenever this might be appropriate. His answer to the Queen's speech of 1845 noted an omission.

1. S.A.E. Jan 25 1845. 4. S.A.E. Feb 8 1845.

2. S.A.E. Jan 10 1846.

3. S.A.E. Feb 1 1845.

The Queen had congratulated Parliament on the improved condition of the country, but 'was not agriculture a part, a portion of the country?... Were the tenantry prosperous?'. He presented petitions from farmers: in 1845 these were from owners, occupiers and several tradesmen in Duckfield and other places in Sussex, and he spoke¹ on behalf of the farmers in times of difficulty. When others spoke of the benefits of free trade, the fifth Duke 'wished to know what would become of the tenant farmers of Great Britain and Ireland whilst they were waiting for the change?', and in arguing for a return to Protection, warned 'their lordships that they must not neglect to do a great act of justice to that large and influential body of the middle classes, the tenant farmers,' and referred to the tenants of the Sussex weald where 'the great mass of the tenant farmers and small occupiers were in a state of great² distress.'. He referred to them as 'a class', and tried to represent the agricultural interest as being united in a common experience of bearing great burdens and suffering at the expense of free trade. In 1852, he told Parliament that 'A proportion of the poorer tenant farmers were ploughing up the downs. Now instead of that being a proof of prosperity, it proved diametrically the opposite. They were obliged to cultivate additional land to enable them to pay their rent. The tenant farmers of England and Scotland were suffering greater privations than any class of people in the country ever before,' and his representations were not on behalf of the large, prosperous tenants with capital, but all the farmers who 'for three or four years have been paying rents and taxes out of capital. Many of the small tenantry³ had been destroyed in this country.'.

1. Hansard vol.LXXVII, Feb 1845, p.23; 1.
2. Hansard vol.CXIV, Feb 4, 1851, p.32.
3. Hansard CXIX, Feb 3rd 1852, pp.52/3.

His fatherly role compelled him to speak for the tenants, and for the labourers too. Describing agricultural distress, 'and he spoke from personal knowledge' he declared that 'he knew nothing more heart rending than their condition. That very morning a number of able bodied agricultural labourers had come and asked him for work - 'the farmers have discharged us because they cannot afford to employ us now'. It is possible that all this could be seen as self-interest: a prosperous tenantry was necessary for a prosperous and secure aristocracy.

The idea of the agricultural family' was taken up by Mechi in 1857. He saw the fatherly authority of the landowner spreading far beyond economic considerations. The landowner was to oversee the education of children, to provide medical attention, to make up for losses in bad years, and to ensure a good standard of moral and physical wellbeing amongst the other members of the family. All this developed comfortably out of the early Victorian paternalism defined by Roberts with its triple sets of duties in terms of ruling, guiding and helping, which in its turn had far deeper roots and could be flexible enough to adapt to economic changes. Education, medicine, abatements and morality in various forms had long been the concern of landowners.

The oversight of education was one aspect of Richmond's life on which the West Sussex Gazette chose to comment in his obituary: subscription lists included various schools in the area: the Boxgrove Boys' School, Boxgrove Girls' School, Tower School, The Manhood School, The March School, Grey Boys School, Blue Girls School, St Pancras

1. Hansard vol.CXIV, Feb/Mar 1851, p.793.

2. Hansard vol.CXIV, Feb/Mar 1851, p.793.

3. J.J.Mechi, 1st Paper on British Agriculture, 1850, p.12; J.J.Mechi, 2nd Paper on British Agriculture, 1851, p.10; J.J.Mechi, How To Farm Profitably, 1857, p.29.

4. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, pp.4/5; W.S.G., 1 Nov 1860.

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School and the Central School. The Duke's interests spread far and wide in the local area, covering not only the local villages like Westhampnett where the March School was set up, and the two Boxgrove schools; and Chichester, which housed the Grey and Blue Schools as well as St Pancras, but also extended to Selsey where the
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Manhood School was.

If education was important, so was the provision of medical attention for the sick. This sort of paternalism was not new - it was in fact very well established - but it could quite easily be accommodated into the idea of a family, where the father was expected to provide when the other members needed help. In the late forties, a blacksmith from Goodwood had his leg broken by a horse's kick, and the loss of his
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18/- per week wages meant he had no means of paying for a doctor. The agent reported that the man had been wise enough to join a club, but had not been in it long enough to allow him to receive enough money, and the Guardians were unwilling to allow him any money. The agent called the doctor and asked the Duke for financial help, which was then given. On the surface, this seems charitable enough, but the reason the agent gave for recommending the payment was that if the money were not paid, the man, his wife and their two children were likely to be 'a drag on the parish of Boxgrove' for the 8-10 weeks he was liable to be incapacitated. The source of the money was not from the estate's own sources, but the Duke overruled the Guardians and gave him
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some allowance from the Union. Whilst acknowledging the Duke's concern, it is important to remember that not all charity for the sick and disabled was as disinterested as it might seem, and this was not only true of the fifties. In the

1. Goodwood ms, E5413, Rent Roll, 1852/3.

2. Goodwood ms, E5413, Rent Roll, 1852/3.

3. Thompson F.M.L., English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.208; Goodwood ms E5409, Rent Roll, 1852/3.

4. Goodwood ms 1863, J. Rusbridger to Richmond, Apr 24, 1838.

1830s, the involvement of the fifth Duke in the Earl of Egremont's emigration scheme resulted in a letter requesting help from the parish for a labourer who wanted to
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emigrate to Canada, and the Duke instructed his agent to see that this was done. However, the reason for the letter was that the man had a club foot, and was unable to walk the dozen miles from Petworth to Boxgrove to ask in the normal way, and the fact that he had a 22 year old wife and a one year old son makes it less than surprising that the Duke was willing to give help to a man whose disability might at some point prevent him from supporting what would probably become a growing family,
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and thus be a drain on the parish.

In his care for the sick, Richmond never approached the practical manifestations of his concern adopted by the Earl of Egremont, who had paid for a surgeon to care for the poor free of charge, who sent one woman on a lying-in course for midwifery, and
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paid the wages of yet another whose job it was to inoculate the poor. Conversely Richmond avoided the arrogance of Mrs Transome, the landowner in Felix Holt who 'liked to change a labourer's medicine fetched from the doctor and substitute a
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prescription of her own.'. Nevertheless, the workers at Goodwood were assured of the Duke's attentions if they were respectable employees of the estate, although paternalism demanded that the fatherly concern should be passed down the chain of command to a suitable level. In 1853, the Duke informed the agent, who contacted another estate worker, instructing him that 'as soon as possible, please call upon Daniel Marthew at Halnaker, who was injured by a fall from a cart some days ago.

1. Goodwood ms 1862, J. Rusbridger to Richmond, Mar 15, 1833.
2. Ibid.
3. F.W.Steer and N.Osborne, The Petworth Archives, 1968, p.viii.
4. G. Eliot, Felix Holt, 1866, pp.16, 106.

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His Grace will pay expenses.'. Marthew was a valued employee, who had been with the
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estate for some time, and was the 'foreman of the road labourers'. Sickness was a
significant factor in the mind of the paternalist, for it could make poverty a
suitable case for paternalism. For the paternalist, poverty per se was not something
about which he need feel guilty or responsible. Some thought the payment of any kind
of relief to the able-bodied poor would discourage them from being self-reliant, and
Southey went as far as to say that he would give the 'worthless poor no more relief
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than that which would prevent them from famishing.'.

The fifth Duke of Richmond would have supported him in his anxiety that the poor
should be taught their duties, for only thus would they become provident. When the
Duke set up a charity for the poor of Chichester in 1814, it was expressly for the
sick poor, and the relief was of a temporary nature, so that when the sickness had
been cured, poverty alone would not qualify them to receive the broth, the temporary
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use of bedding, and so on which the charity allowed. Called 'The March Charity',
after his title at the time, it had helped a total of 12,104 people, and during the
year 1859. Over the years, 236 people had benefited from it, and there were 19 on
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the books at the time of the Annual General Meeting in January 1860. The charity was
also in debt at this time, its funds being inadequate to deal with the demands upon
it (although the debts had been reduced from £41 to £19 in 1861) and the West Sussex
Gazette stressed the need for new subscribers. It is important to realise that
although Richmond had founded the charity, it was supported by subscriptions, of

1. Goodwood ms, E6104, Agent's Letter Book, T.Balmer to A.Duke, Apr 1, 1853.
2. Goodwood ms, E6104, Agent's Letter Book, T.Balmer to A.Duke, Apr 1, 1853; Census returns, Westhampnett Parish, 1851.
3. Southey R.
4. Hampshire Telegraph and West Sussex Chronicle, Jan 28, 1860
5. Ibid.

which his was one, but by no means the only one. Landowners expected to take the lead in paternalism, but not to be its sole supporters. The deficit in the charity's funds was serious, and more subscribers were needed, but the reason it had happened, suggested the Gazette, was that money had been wrongly given to those who were not¹ entitled to receive it - those who had been suffering 'from poverty alone.'

The fatherly authority of the head of the family would see that the children were educated, care for the sick, and make up for losses in bad years. Agricultural communities accepted the cyclical nature of profit and loss: some years were good, some bad, and in a world so dependent on the weather, little could be done to change this, except to look for benevolence from the landlord. If it did not come, he was thought to be failing in his duty. Jones refers to the disappointment with Arkwright as a new landlord when he drew in his horns at a time of depression 'not facing the first onslaught ... in the general manner of a territorial magnate.'² For the tenant farmer, support might be executed in terms of rent abatements, deferments and reductions, such as occurred on many estates in the early 1850s. In 1852/3, rent arrears at Goodwood amounted to £340 for cottages, £343 for farms, £634 for houses, and £139 for quit rents and tithes. Out of 37 cottage rents the Duke could claim in the village of East Dean, 11 of the tenants were in arrears, and the figure in East³ Lavant was 16 in arrears out of a possible 40 cottages. The total money owed in Boxgrove village alone was £174 for only 63 cottages, and in the following year, the outstanding arrears were struck out. Employment was also expected to be offered in

1. W.S.G. Jan 17, 1861

2. E.L.Jones, 'The Arkwrights in Herefordshire,' in Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, p.174.

3. Goodwood ms E5409, Rent Roll 1852/3.

hard times, and Richmond referred to landed proprietors 'employing double, triple or ¹ quadruple the number of labourers they had any need for' in the distress of 1851.

The provision of education for the sick and in times of difficulty were as nothing compared to the fourth of Mechi's duties for the father of the agricultural family,

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that of attending to the moral and physical wellbeing of the tenants and labourers. This was to be effected in a number of ways, since no clear definition of how best to approach the problem emerged. From much earlier than the early Victorian period, paternalism assumed that the creation of better people would result in a better society, and attempts had been made to improve the labourers. By 1887, a retrospective essay on agriculture could point to an increase in labourers' wages of 60% ; a decrease in pauperism, in serious crime; and increases in savings, bank deposits, building societies and co-op funds and notes that 'these are significant of a moral improvement in the population which need not have followed the material ³ improvement, but which has in fact, followed that improvement.'. The kind of 'moral improvement' they spoke of may have been dependent on the material, but there were signs long before this of attempts to improve the morality of the workers.

The 'Association for the Encouragement of Industrious and Meritorious Labourers' met at Goodwood each year and, as it had been founded by the fifth Duke, gives a clear indication as to the nature of moral and physical improvement which was being sought ⁴ at Goodwood. Each year, from 1836, the Association met for competitions, a procession, dinner on the tennis courts and to hear a speech from one of the Richmond

1. Richmond in Hansard vol CXIV , ser.3 Feb/Mar 1851, p.792.
2. J.J. Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 4th edn, 1864, pp. 11, 26.
3. Ward The Reign of Queen Victoria, vol.2, 1887, p.30.
4. Goodwood ms, 1862, J. Rusbridger to Richmond, 1837.

family or the clergy which would exhort them to greater morality. When the Association started, there were 19 competitions in all. Class A, for example, was for labourers who had brought up the largest families on the smallest amount of parochial relief, and the first prize of £5 was awarded to William Budd of the Goodwood Home Farm. Class B was for single men who had lived the longest in one place, and there were other classes for female servants, single men under the age of twenty, living in one place with good character, and so on. The aim was to make the working classes respectable, self reliant, static and conformist. The Association flourished, and by the late fifties some competitions of a purely agricultural nature had been added to the meetings. Sheep shearing took place under one of the cedars in the park in 1859 when the Association met. By this time, the meeting was beginning to be something of an anachronism, according to the Gazette visitors were few and the paper did not think this was due to the poor weather. 'There was no no feature whatsoever to bring before the public notice. The same children from Westhampnett Union played at cricket, ate plum cake and drank tea as they had done over and over before. The same old familiar faces conversing in groups around the shearers - the same band of music called the 'United Band' of somewhere which pumps away at the same well known airs and when it has gone through the stock, plays them all over again - the same good tempered gent who walks about with books under his arm and a pencil behind his ear.'. Yet the essence of such an Association was to aim for a largely unchanging society, without novelty, where each would know the others and be known by them. Even the prizewinners were the same 'Everything the same...even the names of those who got prizes were those who bore them off year after year before for nobody

1. S.A.E. June 30, 1837.

2. W.S.G. Sept 24, 1853, June 7, 1860.

3. W.S.G. June 7, 1860

4 W.S.G. June 7, 1860.

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knows how long.' Yet the Gazette supported the aims of the society, and having made its complaint, went on to make allowances: 'There are not therefore many changes in the society, but we trust there is progress - it is an association calculated to do a great amount of good by bringing the labourers into close and agreeable contact with those to whom they must look for support, and we wish it every possible success.' In the following year, the criticisms continued, to the extent that 'really the monotony of the affair to all... as something awful' the only exceptions to the boredom of the proceedings being 'the sheep, who were not every day honoured with so much attention.

The same number of labourers attended as usual, and there were the same number of sheep pens. The clipping of the sheep in the sheep shearing match was effective, but that, your readers will allow, was not a subject which could be contemplated for two
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mortal hours.'

Such criticisms from the newspapers were gently administered, for the Sussex papers were sympathetic to paternalist approaches. The editor of the Agricultural Express, for example, was W.E. Baxter, a farmer himself, and the son of the publisher John
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Baxter of Lewes. W.E. Baxter's own outlook was paternalistic, but even so, in the mid forties, he had questioned the value of improvement which was rewarded by prizes which 'do not produce upon the labourer's mind the cordial feelings which a kind master's kindly bestowed gift awakens.'. He warned against the 'elaborate
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condescension of a superior in rank' and of the fact that nothing was 'more
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meaningless than digging up a retired rustic for a prize at a dinner.'

1. W.S.G. 2. Ibid.

3. W.S.G. June 13, 1861.

4. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, pp.116/7

5. S.A.E. Oct 14, 1837.

Nevertheless, this 'moral improvement' was significant for the paternalists, for it was the means by which the labourer could earn his membership of the agricultural family. The landlord and the farmer justified themselves in terms of their relationship of the land as owner and occupier, but the labourer had to earn his place by moral improvement. Presiding over the East Sussex Agricultural Society, and with the Duke of Richmond sitting at his right hand, the Earl of Chichester explained the motive for the founding of the Association as 'there were a good many of the wealthier classes of society and those who were employers of labour who thought that if there were some public way in which they might reward persons of industrious habits and virtuous conduct, it certainly would not be doing any harm, and might be some encouragement to some industrious people who were striving under very great difficulties and who might think that they were very little noticed or regarded with very little feeling by their fellow men.'¹ The prizes were for 'virtuous and good conduct, and habits of domestic virtue.'² Such associations were for 'meritorious' labourers, and this adjective was much used by the Richmonds and by other landowners in their speeches. The fifth Duke referred to the 'landowner ... the land occupier and the meritorious labourer', and at another meeting, commended the Bishop of Chichester for 'having promoted those societies which had as their object the reward of the meritorious labourers.'³ He had been the founder of the Association of Meritorious Labourers which met at Goodwood, and the equivalent of East Sussex society 'had taken many useful hints' from the West Sussex Society.

Both associations held annual meetings, with competitions which were intended to

1. S.A.E. Supplement, June 13, 1857.
2. Goodwood ms, 1862, J. Rusbridger to Richmond, 1836.
3. S.A.E. June 13, 1857

reward those who had won prizes, to induce the adoption and observation of those precepts which rural society and the Church taught were appropriate to the station of the labourer, for a really good, honest and Christian labourer was a most useful member of society, and was more entitled to the term 'gentleman' than many a richer man.¹ That this last was a mere rhetoric was obvious to all. The labourers were divided from the landowner and land occupier classes by birth, by education, by the kind of work they did, the wages they earned, the lives they led and the clothes they wore. In reality, the fifth Duke would have been horrified at his labourers being afforded more than their traditional status, and preferred them to be his 'friends in the round frocks at the end of the room', marked out by their distinctive costume and with the demarcation line clearly drawn.²

It was important that a sufficient number of prizes should be awarded to members of the Association, so that many labourers could win. The Earl of Chichester referred to the 'large number of prizes given by the Association for this purpose' and 67 prizes were awarded at Goodwood in 1861.³ It was also to be hoped that the moral improvement could be spread by the work of the Associations to others in the present, and even into the future. By offering prizes 'they were only asking them to instil into the minds of their friends and of their youthful children the advantage of an upright life, and to prove to them that after all, 'honesty is the best policy'.⁴

The awareness of the need for labourers to engage in moral improvement as the paternalist saw it, and to justify his membership of the agricultural family,

1. S.A.E. June 13, 1857

2. S.A.E. Jan. 28, 1854.

3. S.A.E. June 13, 1857; S.A.E. June 13, 1861

4. S.A.E. June 10, 1854.

reinforced the feelings of dependence and deference, and demanded the expression of gratitude. Dependence was an essential component of paternalism, for it safeguarded the landowner's role and ensured a measure of control over the agricultural population. The whole principle of inherited authority had an economic basis: the dependence of farmers and others on the patronage and benevolence of the individual landlord. They were dependent for employment, for housing and for the welfare of themselves and their families. The fifth Duke built into his daily pattern a time when tenants and labourers could come to see him, so that when he was at Goodwood, he held daily audiences for his dependents. William Pitt Lennox's memoir of him describes how his daily routine began when the post arrived, the papers were read and¹ he had breakfast. After this, he held his audiences, and then he might take a drive to Chichester to the market or to see the magistrate, followed by a walk to the Home Farm, the paddock or the gardens. However, as all this was to be completed by midday, it is doubtful whether the audiences lasted very long.

Some writers had urged a move away from dependence on the landlord: Low complained that rent reductions were hailed as acts of great liberality, but 'bounties of this form are nearly useless to the tenantry', and claimed that the retention of this system would keep the tenant in a condition of dependence.² In Low's terms, this was meant as a criticism, but to the paternalist, this was reassuring, since dependence was an essential prerequisite for the workings of the agricultural family. It was one which the paternalistic landlord was likely to foster rather than to abandon, and the idea of creating a system which would ensure the disappearance of dependence

1. W.P. Lennox, Memoir of Charles Gordon Lennox, Fifth Duke of Richmond, 1862, p.17.
2. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.28.

would be totally abhorrent. As reassurance that deference and dependence were still present, and that the hierarchical structure was being adhered to, paternalistic landowners were constantly and publicly showered with gratitude.

Gratitude was frequently being extended to the Duke 'for to the farmer, the noble Duke had always been a firm friend ... the noble Duke was also a firm friend to the labourer, and had the interest of that class at heart.'¹ With the meritorious labourer and the farmer as his audience, the Duke was constantly thanked for his interest in Sussex agricultural affairs, for his exertions on behalf of the tenant farmers and for promoting the welfare of the labouring classes. Gratitude was expressed by the Earl of Chichester and other landowners, by farmers, by the Bishop and the Dean, by the members of his own family and officials of the cities and towns.

The result of all this dependence and deference and publicly expressed gratitude was an assumption that the paternalistic landlord knew best for his dependents, and that the effect of their deference was that they had no choice but to accept his judgement. He thought for them, he acted for them, and he decided what was best for them. This was an important controlling duty of the paternalist, and easy to put into practice, as long as one asserted that 'the interests of the landlord, the tenant farmer and the labourer are one and the same.'² Sometimes, the labourers could be excused for seeing little sense in paternalistic action which was taken, supposedly on their behalf: in the distress of the winter of 1853/4, the paternalistic Sussex Agricultural Express recommended that 'some remedy ought to be

1. S.A.E. Dec 17, 1853.

2. S.A.E. June 13, 1857.

provided' but resisted strongly the notion that an increase in the wages of the labourers would alleviate the situation on the grounds that 'of all the cures that can be applied, none are more mischievous than that of giving the highest wages to those who require it instead of to those who are most worthy of it.'¹ It seemed that even in times of severe adversity, the labourer had to earn the right to receive help through merit, rather than because of need.

As long as the labourer had to prove his worth in order to take his place as a member of the agricultural family, and receive the support of landowner and farmer, he could be controlled. Mills saw the separation of the more deferential members of society into estate villages as a means of encouraging this control, but it did not happen at Goodwood.² This does not mean that control was unimportant to the Richmonds - far from it - but the concept of the meritorious labourer meant that the discipline was very much the province of each individual, closely watched by family and friends, neighbours and workmates, the parameters of acceptable behaviour being laid down by the expectations of the role. The Duke of Richmond urged the meritorious labourers to 'show your gratitude to those gentlemen who have subscribed to this association in order to exalt your merit by telling your neighbours and friends that if they wish to be happy in this world to come, they must obey the commandments, do their duty towards their neighbour obey the laws of the land and love the gracious and virtuous Queen of this kingdom.'³ A story was told at the East Sussex Agricultural Association meeting of 1847 of a young man who was recommended for a prize, but who could not be considered because the information did not arrive in time. His employer

1. S.A.E. Jan 28, 1854.

2. D.Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.28.

3. S.A.E., Supplement, June 14, 1856.

felt sorry for him and gave him the money from his own pocket, but the young man
'looked more to the certificate of good conduct - to the public record of his
1
character than he did to the money.'

If labourers failed to achieved the meritorious label, the paternalist's approach was
to admonish and to punish. This might mean the loss of employment, of housing, and
in the case of prosecution, it could mean harsh sentences. Dismissal could be sudden
- a letter to the Brickyard foreman from the agent announced 'Please inform Judd and
William Irish that His Grace does not wish them to continue any longer in his
2
employment'. Henry Rook, a labourer on the Home Farm was dismissed after three days
work at 6/- and an extra payment of £1/10/0 for turning the manure mix. Having been
given an extra beer allowance for the latter task, Rook was unwise enough to drink
3
too much of it and was 'dismissed for being drunk'. The apparent anomaly of
traditional allowances like this being paid by the estate: for clearing the cess pit
at the Race Stand, for turning the manure mix and at Harvest Time seems odd, bearing
in mind the fifth Duke's expressly stated opinions on the evils of drink, for
4
'neither would he employ those who spend their money at a beer shop.'. Richmond
would not have been against drink per se; it was the excess which caused problems,
and the dangers of strong drink at a beer shop (which may have had undersirable
overtones), rather than the weaker home brewed variety which was part of the
traditional scene of rural society. When the Earl of Clarendon introduced a bill to
permit the distilling and brewing of beer from sugar, the fifth Duke spoke strongly
against it 'believing the liquor to be unwholesome for the labouring classes; in fact

1. S.A.E. June 5, 1847.

2. Goodwood ms, E6104, R.Arras to Littlefield, Aug 1st, 1853.

3. Goodwood ms, E5304, Goodwood Farm Account, 1853/4.

4. S.A.E. Jan 25 1845.

he maintained that it would half prison them.'

They might lose their jobs and they might lose their homes. In the case of a labourer from Charlton, the agent wrote to say 'I am informed that you have allowed your son to bring a woman from Brighton into your house,' and if he could not confirm that she had gone, 'You must leave the cottage, as a thing of that kind cannot be

allowed.'. Goodwood was not alone in its adoption of this attitude, and the Cowdray Papers contain many letters of this kind throughout the decades of the mid century.

At Lady Day 1849, 'By reason of the bad conduct of David Brummell's family kept at home, he had notice to quit the cottage he holds near Sowter's' and in the following year, 'By reason of the grossly immoral conduct of Henry Glazier's daughters, he had notice to quit the cottage at Sowters which he has occupied for some years.' and

'John Pearson having become bankrupt the with (sic) his wife being drunkards, it has become necessary to give this notice to quit.'. When the Duke of Richmond heard of labourers behaving in an immoral way, he 'was not of the opinion that parties should be entirely turned off from all employment for the first case of bad conduct. He

would give them employment, but not at the full rate of 10/- or 11/- per week, and if they stated to him their willingness to reform, he would be willing to give them

another chance of success.'. As this will have been a verbal interchange, there are no records of instances of such agreements being made, but certainly, Henry Rook was later employed by the Home Farm, and was later pensioned off in one of the Duke's cottages, where he sat rent free. Even at Cowdray, some of the threats were not actually carried out. Henry Glazier's daughters may have been grossly immoral in

1. Quoted in J.Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.160.

2. Goodwood ms, E6104, T.Balmer to C. Richards, 31 Mar, 1853.

3. Cowdray ms, Uncatalogued Daybook, Lady Day, 1849, Lady Day, 1850.

4. S.A.E. Jan 25, 1845.

their conduct, but 'by reason of his inability to to obtain another cottage, he was not got rid of.', and in February 1856, he actually took over one of the assistant keeper's cottages. John Pearson and his wife were given notice to quit in 1850, but it was not until Michellmas 1869 that the daybook was able to record that they had 'at last got rid of John Pearson, the man who with his wife was such a disgrace to the
1
Cowdray Estate.'

Part of the landlord's paternalistic duty was to protect others from bad influences as the foregoing examples show, but he could also show leniency. The Duke thought that 'the erring should not be turned off from all employment', and he saw the road back to recovery as a process of discussion with the paternalistic landlord or his
2
agents, and a working towards the ideal. When a man who had been convicted of theft later applied to the Duke for work, he instructed the agent to obtain work for him on the railway. This would keep him away from other estate workers, and of course, he would not be a drain on the parish. Punishment was not automatically harsh, nor was
3
prosecution inevitable.

It was important to establish the unity of interest which existed for the paternalists between the various agencies which underpinned rural society: the landed estate, which encompassed the agricultural family; the authority of the church, and the market town. Links between the members of the agricultural family were important to the paternalist, but so also was the sphere in which he operated. It was clear in the growth of the commercial classes, and the emergence of large towns that the

1. Cowdray ms, Uncatalogued Daybook, L.D. 1851, L.D. 1856, Michellmas 1869;
2. S.A.E. Jan 25, 1845.
3. Goodwood ms, 1863, J. Rusbridger to Richmond, 11 Mar, 1839.

organic nature of English life was being weakened. Rural areas, such as the west of Sussex, still maintained the old traditional rural fabric and still insisted that the basis of its prosperity remained the same. The fifth Duke stated that since leaving the army, he had taken up agriculture 'not from motives of interest, but because it was the foundation of the prosperity and freedom of all classes and all the people. Agriculture was the foundation of the prosperity of England.', and as such, it was¹ interlocked with the structure of society and hence with the established Church.

It was essential in the paternalism of the fifth Duke that he should exhort the labourers to religious practice, and that too meant the Church. The Bishop often presided at agricultural meetings, saying grace 'before and after meat', and commenting on the presence of the clergy, he was moved to say 'I am glad to see so² many of them here present.'. This underlines how inextricably linked were the temporal and spiritual authorities of the area, and that a gathering of the agricultural interest was more than a meeting of people who shared a common occupation. It was a reaffirmation of the local hierarchy and an opportunity for a public expression of the tenets upon which rural society was based. Thus it made sense that at the West Sussex Agricultural Association meeting in 1856, the main speaker was the Bishop of Chichester, and the topic of his talk was not agricultural,³ but a reminder of the meaning of duty.

The Bishop defined duty as 'the chief object of our lives', and divided it into three: 'the duties of religion among you, the duties of morality anddomestic

1. S.A.E. Dec 17, 1853.

2. S.A.E. June 14, 1856.

3. Ibid.

duties', and the measure of success was to be indicated 'by your conduct that you do desire to regulate your conduct by the principles of the blessed gospel.'. Of all the prizes which were awarded, the chief among them was the Bishop's prize, consisting of a Bible and prayer book, with a Bible as the second prize, and a prayer book third, and he reminded the company that the Association had been founded on strongly religious principles. The religious language was not confined to clergymen: Richmond urged the labourers to 'bring up your children in the fear of God', and assured them that he himself had 'always desired to do my duty in the station in which God has been pleased to place me'¹. In this he was like Mrs Transome in George Eliot's Felix Holt who thought that the duty of the lower orders was clear: they should be 'cheerful, quiet people, who loved their Church, their country and their Queen.'² She wanted 'workers who were 'obedient to their pastors and masters, temporal as well as spiritual.'. The Earl of Chichester urged the labourers that all in agriculture ought to 'induce in one another feelings of mutual respect and Christian charity.'³ He described the Duke as a 'virtuous and good man' and the Duke's obituary specifically commented on his work 'as a friend ... to the established Church, his name must forever stand high in the memory of all.', and it was not surprising that the debate on where a monument to the fifth Duke should be placed was resolved by putting it in Chichester Cathedral.⁴

Richmond interpreted his paternalistic duty towards the labourers mainly in terms of moral improvement with individual assistance for deserving cases, but paternalism pervaded relationships at all levels and demanded support for tenant farmers. The

1. Ibid. S.A.E. June 14, 1856.

2. G. Eliot, Felix Holt, 1866, pp 16, 106.

3. W.S.G. Nov 1st, 1860.

4. Ibid.

1. W.S.G. Nov 1st, 1860.

1

fifth Duke of Richmond established a charity for widows of decayed farmers. The initial outlay for this was from money given to the Duke for his efforts regarding Repeal, and the scheme was launched in 1852, when the first annual dinner was held. Presumably when the scheme was planned in the late 1840s, the need for such a charity was clear, and reflects further the Duke's Protectionist pessimism. In reality, however, very few widows received, or even applied for, relief from the charity. The traditional view of the fifties might indicate that the level of prosperity amongst farmers of the time meant that they could leave their widows well provided for, and did not need the £15 per annum which the charity offered to each annuitant. Still, the conditions attached to the charity were such that many widows must have been excluded by one or other of its requirements. The charity was described as 'Relief for needy farmers of good character not receiving parochial relief'. The key words were 'needy' and 'good character', as the declaration shows:

'Mrs..... hereby makes declaration that she is the widow of the late of the parish of, whose death happened on the ... day of, 18..., that she has not been since married to any other person, is now in the year of her age; that she is not in receipt of parochial relief, that she has no salary, annuity, property, pension, income, allowance, or provision whatever, except, and that her circumstances are not such as to enable her to support herself.'

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The declaration had to be made by the widow herself, and signed by a clergyman or magistrate, who had also to enclose a certificate of her character. Three applications survive from 1856, the widow Freeman from Hurstpierpoint, the widow

1. Goodwood ms 733,742, Institution for Widows of decayed farmers, 1852-1869
2. Ibid.

Haley from Birdham, and the widow Copis from Selsey. The documentation which accompanies the latter's application is comprehensive. Three separate certificates of the death of her husband George, and of the fact that he had been a farmer, accompany the application, giving the date of his death variously as 1841, 1842 and 1842/3. The clergyman's letter refers to her 'former affluence' and describes her state of health as bad. The trustees accepted her as an annuitant in 1857, and the Duke ordered payments to be backdated a year.

Dependent as it was on a stable society where roles and relationships were understood, paternalism did not confine itself to the setting up of charities, help for the sick, education or support in times of adversity. These were all in evidence at Goodwood and were dispensed readily, but with some benefit to the landlord in terms of gratitude, keeping some workers from being a drain on the parish, aiding in the containing of disaffection and so on. To some writers, paternalistic activities were seen as a means of control 'all his boundless charities are keeping the people down, and telling them that they must stay down.'. It is true that paternalism constantly reinforced the underlying structure of the rural society on which it fed, making overt the covert assumptions which were traditionally held in deference communities.

Changes which were evident also reflected assumptions about society, and the evidence from Goodwood in the fifties and sixties shows that Roberts was wrong in his assertion that 'paternalism was static'. It was certainly stable, but change was evident as it adapted itself constantly to the context of particular social

1. Goodwood ms 733,742, Institution for Widows of decayed farmers, 1852-1869

2. B. Disraeli, Sybil, 1845.

3. D.Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.128.

situations. The expression of this was complex, and was encapsulated in imagery. The imagery chosen reflected not only the relationship between the object, agricultural relationships, and what it was likened to - the family - but assumptions about both elements. The choice of 'agricultural family' to describe relationships between landlord, tenant and labourer indicates that these were not purely economic; that dependence and deference were still very much taken for granted, and that mixed with employment, accommodation and other factors were other assumptions about society and a man's place in it, which retained many of the trappings of traditional deference communities.

The paternalism of the fifties and sixties at Goodwood continued to be based on the ideal of the landowner's duties towards those in his sphere of operation. It was not, however, altruistic, and a set of expectations operated which expected certain standards of behaviour and the adoption of a specific code of conduct by those who were the recipients of paternalistic benefits. Neither was it needs-based. To say as Roberts does that 'paternalism never met the age-old needs of the rural poor as fully as its defenders claimed or hoped' is to misunderstand a fundamental truth¹ about paternalism. To test paternalistic rhetoric against the criterion of whether the needs of the rural poor were met was testing it against something it was never intended to do. The poor were in need, but in the eyes of the paternalist, need did not automatically qualify them for assistance. If paternalism had ever been needs-based, it was certainly not so in the 1850s and 60s and the Richmonds never claimed that they were trying to meet the needs of the rural poor.

The fifth Duke of Richmond came from a background and had a personality which made him suited to maintain a paternalistic approach to his relationships with others.

1. D. Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.127.

The tradition he inherited from his uncle and the lack of industrialisation or major urbanisation in Sussex were contributory factors. The Goodwood estate as a well established social structure in which to implement his paternalism also permitted and even encouraged the development of that deference and dependence which were so essential to the position of the paternalistic landlord. His own outlook was narrow, and that rigid and inflexible approach which Smith has described as being present in his political attitudes from the early forties, is also discernible in a narrow, ¹ conservative view of social affairs. His concept of society was essentially hierarchical, and social mobility played no part in Richmond's thinking. Duty was at the root of his paternalism, and it was a duty which sprang from his consciousness of the leadership role which he held, and in which he had been divinely placed. His paternalism might be said to be based on Christian principles rather than on humanitarian ideals, but they were those Christian principles which were held by the Anglican Church. This gave Richmond a sense of place as well as a sense of purpose. Integrated as it was with rural society, Church and estate were focal points in the local community, forming a unity of authority, of purpose, and of moral guidance to support all classes. In Richmond's eyes it was his duty to lead, his duty to punish, and his duty to ensure that his labourers improved. That duty may have been narrowly conceived, but it was faithfully executed. It may have been inappropriate to a society which was urging autonomy and the adoption of new attitudes to the old hierarchical structures, but Richmond managed to maintain his approach because of the estate system and the opportunities which that provided at Goodwood.

1. D.A. Smith, 'The Richmond Interest and Party Politics' in S.A.C. vol.117, 1979, p.217.

Nevertheless, it is impossible, to divorce paternalistic ideals from the means to carry them out in practice. The landlord's position was so powerful in paternalistic terms because he had the ability to formulate policy, dominated a sphere of influence in which to implement it, and possessed the financial resources with which to carry it out. It is these financial resources at Goodwood which must be examined next.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FINANCIAL CONTEXT OF THE GOODWOOD ESTATE

The fifth Duke of Richmond occupied an important position in the west of Sussex, and as owner of one of the largest estates in the county, he was a significant figure in the political and social life of the area. Such a position required a certain amount of financial underpinning, and the Duke's economic circumstances were of crucial importance to him in meeting his needs. This chapter will trace the Richmonds' experience of debt in the first half of the nineteenth century and attempt to show how they dealt with it. It will identify the sources of income on which the Goodwood estate depended, assessing the significance of each contributory element.

For the owners of many estates, the mid century was a time of uncertainty. Rank was no guarantee against financial disaster: the Duke of Buckingham sold much of his¹ estate when bankruptcy threatened in 1848, and went abroad. In 1851, on inheriting his estates, the Earl of Shaftesbury exclaimed 'I am half pauperised, the debts are² endless, and no money is payable for a year.'. Even determination to improve was no protection: Thomas Johnes, one of the improving landlords of Wales, sold his estates and died in debt for £50,000, and failure in agricultural enterprises was common enough for Trollope to make one of his characters a man who had 'lost much money in³ experimental farming.', like Trollope's own father. The volatile and unexpected nature of the changing situation was also to be found amongst the aristocracy,

1. F.M.L. Thompson, 'The End of a Great Estate,'

Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.8 no.2, 1955, pp.36-52.

2. J.L. & B. Hammond, Lord Shaftesbury, 1923, p.173.

3. J.E. Williams, 'The British Standard of Living 1750-1850', Ec.H.R.

ser.2 vol.XIX no.1, 1966, pp.60,78; A. Trollope, The Small House at Allington, 1864, p.35; A. Trollope, An Autobiography, 1883, p.111.

highlighted in the case of Lord Granville, on whose death it was said 'If Lord Granville had died four years ago he would have died in debt. He died worth £125,000¹ - the (Lilleshall) Company will net £70,000 this year.'

Any study of estate management must take into account the constraints within which management had to operate: the debate by Spring and Thompson on aristocratic indebtedness, with Cannadine's development of it, provides a framework within which the whole question of estate income and the demands upon it may be set. Spring has drawn attention to the 'widespread financial embarrassment', 'the heavy indebtedness to be found among older landed families.', in the first half of the nineteenth² century. The causes were varied, but chief among them were extravagant house building, increased family charges, electoral expenses and high living in the Regency period. The responses to debt were, he suggests, a retrenchment so that the situation was much improved by the mid century, and a tendency to develop other sources of income as 'Many aristocrats sought to exploit non-agricultural resources³ of their estates.'. Cannadine supports Thompson's findings that for most early 19th century aristocratic families, indebtedness was a familiar condition, and it would be⁴ wrong to assume that debt was an automatic indication of imminent bankruptcy. Thompson's examination of the Ailesbury affairs indicates that even when a family was in debt, it did not automatically face total disaster, nor did it necessarily turn to⁵ non-agricultural resources. Cannadine points to the way in which Spring's theory of 'debt driven developers' has been taken up and embellished by Hobsbawm and Perkin,

1. E. Richards, 'The Industrial Face of a Great Estate: Trentham and Lilleshall, 1780-1860.', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXVII no.3, 1974, p.429.
2. D. Spring, quoted in D. Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century: the case reopened.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXX no.4, 1977, p.624.
3. D. Spring, 'Landownership in the 19th century: a critical note', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.IX no.3, 1957, p.481.
4. Ibid.
5. F.M.L. Thompson, 'English Landownership, the Ailesbury Trust, ' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol XI no.1, 1958, p.121

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and 'passed into the conventional wisdom of 19th century English history.' The reduction of these debts was achieved in a variety of ways. Spring suggests more careful housekeeping and great gains from non-agricultural resources were responsible, and Cannadine has added the disposal of family heirlooms and the sale of land as significant factors. As an aristocratic landowning family, the Richmonds experienced a considerable degree of debt during the early 19th century and the lack of panic or disaster which followed confirms the normality of debt in such circumstances. It also suggests that in this case, the landowner did not automatically turn to non-agricultural resources. How debt was dealt with clearly varied between one estate and another, and at Goodwood the interplay of many factors is shown to have been significant in dealing with the situation.

At Goodwood, the part played by inherited wealth, the size of the family to be supported by the estate and the methods by which this was to be achieved, careful budgeting, and the development of estate enterprises to the point at which they could sell materials off the estate were all found to be important in reducing debt and avoiding overspending.

Financial constraints were not new at Goodwood, for the development of the estate in the second half of the 18th century had resulted in large debts. During his 56 years as master of Goodwood, the third Duke had increased the estate from an acreage of 1,000 to 17,000. £120,000 had been spent on land and houses, which cost £4,000 to
2
maintain each year. Hunting, yachting, the militia and Richmond House in London accounted for a further £1,600, rates accounted for £2,300 and taxes for a further

1. D. Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century: the case reopened.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXX no.4, 1977. p.625

2. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.69.

£3,000 per annum. He built an impressive stable block and kennels which Palmerston described as 'both within and without is in a style of elegance hitherto unknown to that species of building.'¹ To finance the building of Goodwood House itself, the Duke borrowed a massive £95,000 at an interest of £3,500 per annum.² His desire to extend his power and position demanded the visible concomitants of status: Hunn describes his building projects as part of a plan 'to turn Goodwood from a third class rural estate into one of the greatest country seats in England.'³

It could be argued that the third Duke managed the estate with little thought that 'an estate extends not only in space, but also in time', having little concern for the realities of paying off his debts.⁴ Certainly he might have had the foresight to insure Richmond House, which burned down uninsured in 1792, and by the time of his death in 1806, only three sides of the massive octagon which was to be Goodwood House, had been built.⁵ The running costs of the estate were high - stable wages alone accounted for £491 per annum, and stringent economies had to be made by the fourth Duke. Plans for the completion of the house as an octagon were abandoned; the interior of one wing remained unfinished, and the House was closed for much of the time. The fourth Duke travelled abroad in Government service, and meanwhile attempted to pay off the debts.⁶ In addition to this, he tried to avoid making the mistakes his uncle had made: no new major building projects were begun, and he set up a fund which would provide for his younger children in the future.

The fourth Duke took advantage of the tree planting policies of his predecessor to

1. Palmerston's Travels in Sussex, 1778, quoted in D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.63.
2. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.70.
3. Ibid. p.62.
4. D.R. Denman, Estate Capital, 1959, p.19
5. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.70.
6. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.80.

set up a fund under the Goodwood Estate Act of 1810. Known as the Accumulating Fund, this provided that a certain proportion of timber should be cut each year, the money being invested, and the interest used for estate improvements until such time as it was needed to support the fourth Duke's younger children.¹ The support of such younger sons and daughters was one of the factors which Spring mentioned as highly significant in causing debt amongst nineteenth century aristocratic families.² In this respect, Goodwood was fortunate: the first Duke had only three children, one of whom succeeded to the lands and title, and the other two, both daughters, predeceased their mother, who died only a few months after the first Duke.³ This meant that the second Duke had no relatives who could be a drain on the estate. His own seven children included three daughters for whom marriage portions had to be found, his heir, and only one other son, who married the daughter of the Marquis of Lothian. The third Duke was Master of Goodwood for 56 years, and died childless, his wife having predeceased him by 9 years, so family portions were few. His mother only outlived her husband by a year, so again, there was no dowager Duchess. The fourth Duke was the first to produce a large family, and of his 14 children, only two did not marry. There was clearly a need at this point to make provision for this growing family, and the investment in forestry was wise in alleviating otherwise heavy burdens on estate capital. This represented a new stage in financial policy on the estate: long term loans at high interest were no longer looked for, and borrowing was of a much more modest and short term nature from this point on.

The future fifth Duke of Richmond, then Earl of March, had seen the estate in massive

1. Goodwood ms E5298/9 Accumulating Fund

2. D. Spring, 'Landownership in the 19th century: a critical note', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.IX no.3, 1957, pp. 474/5.

3. See Fig. 2, Family tree of the Dukes of Richmond.

debt when his father inherited the title in 1806. Like his parents, brothers and sisters, he spent much time abroad, so that Goodwood House was closed on many occasions.¹ When he became Duke in 1819, it is not surprising that he continued the attempt to put the estate on a sound economic footing, and to avoid the large scale expenditure his great uncle had engaged in. On the occasion of his marriage in 1816, he had settled at Molecomb, the Dower House in the park, and remained there until nearly two years after the death of his father, when he opened Goodwood House again.²

He began the twenties having cleared most of the debts, and although his mother's taste for the gaming tables was to cause further problems, he left the development of the estate until after 1823, when all the debts were paid.³ By the end of the decade, the development of the Racecourse had begun, and this represented the most ambitious project undertaken on the estate between the death of the third Duke and the fifth Duke's death in 1860. In 1829, the course itself was relaid, and the following year, the finishing straight was extended and a new stand built to house some 3,000 people.⁴

In 1837, a balcony was added, and five years later, a further, smaller stand, a jockey's room and a printing room were built. During the thirties also, there were some financial problems for the estate and its tenants, and the agent drew up some recommendations for economies, part of which included the payment of reduced wages to servants. In 1834, he wrote to the Duchess, asking her to be sure to adhere to this when hiring new staff.⁵

The thirties provided Richmond with additional income from the sale of the Duke's

1. J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, pp.49-54.
2. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.107.
3. Ibid. p.92
4. D.Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.95
5. Goodwood ms. 1862, Letter from J.Rusbridger to 5th Duchess, 1834.

1

Aubigny estates in France. These had been given to the mother of the first Duke, Louise de Querouaille, by Louis XIV, but the title and law of succession were swept away by the revolution in France. When a lawsuit was threatened which would have cost him four fifths of the income of the Aubigny estates, Richmond sold the lands to his French cousins.² In 1836, he also inherited the estates of his maternal uncle, the Duke of Gordon - some 270,000 acres in Banffshire, Aberdeenshire, Inverness and Elgin, and from that time, began making regular trips to Gordon Castle.³ This was not land which produced high income per acre: Bateman's assessment of the gross annual value of the Inverness lands for example, was £1,182 for the 17,409 acres.⁴ It did, however, make the Duke one of the country's largest landowners, and he became a significant figure in Scottish agriculture.

After this point events became less dramatic, and the Goodwood estate was established on a basis which was to remain constant for many decades. The changing nature of circumstances between 1750 and 1850 is important in assessing the estate's development. Death, revolution or inheritance or active intervention in building projects, had resulted in a long period of change for the Richmonds and hence for their estate.

5

In some ways, the situation at Goodwood conforms to Spring's picture. Large scale house building and other ambitious projects from the previous century had indeed left the estate in debt. Some of this could be dealt with by abandoning projects before completion: hence Goodwood House remains a three sided building, and the interior of

1. J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.154.

2. Ibid. p.206

3. J. Mitchell 'Dukes of Gordon' in Reminiscences of My Life in the Highlands, vol 2, 1884, 1971 edn. p.34.

4. J. Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland, 1883, p.380.

5. D. Spring, quoted in D. Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century: the case reopened.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXX no.4, 1977, p.624.

one wing was not completed until the late thirties. Other money was saved by reducing running expenses: the foxhound pack was sold, Goodwood House was closed temporarily, and the staff reduced by 24. Hainaker House was allowed to decay, and the absence of the fourth Duke and his family meant that fewer demands were made on estate finances.¹ By 1808, within two years of his uncle's death, the fourth Duke had paid off the debts, and ten years later, his son resorted to similar tactics to cope with debt.² Yet, the repayment of debt would have been a simple matter had the estate operated on an economic basis alone. What complicated matters was the fact that the estate was not purely economic in its dealings. Appearances had to be kept up. The paternalistic activities of the third Duke were described in Chapter Two, and the fifth Duke's concept of his leadership role which involved organising and funding large scale events to celebrate with the local community was described in Chapter Three.

Some developments could be slowed down, such as the interior of the Goodwood ballroom, which was completed in 1839 to coincide with the coming of age of the Duke's heir, the Earl of March.³ This was lavishly celebrated in a manner which did not suggest an estate which was making economies. While the reduced wage levels for servants were in operation, the Duke's coachman was told he could no longer have a new pair of boots and new spurs each year, and the agent expressed concern to the Duke that even if all the rents were paid (which he thought unlikely) there would still be a deficit of £347 in rents alone.⁴ Yet in the same year as the coachman was told he could no longer have new spurs and boots, a bill for £52/10/

1. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.80.

2. Ibid.

3. C. Kirby The English Country Gentleman, ND, but post 1932, p.146.

4. Goodwood ms 1862, Letter from J.Rusbridger to Duke of Richmond, 1834.

for 'silk cord to whip and solid gold mounted horse whip with highly braided handle'

1

for one of the Duke's children.

Spring suggests that non-agricultural resources were developed as a means of reducing debt, and although there are no indications of this at Goodwood, this may be because the fifth Duke was able to redeem the situation from his traditional sources of revenue, or it could be that the sale of the Aubigny estates, the acquisition of the Scottish estates and careful budgeting were enough to cope with the problems. There
2
is no evidence of other sources being sought.

By the mid century, the estate was established on a basis which was to remain constant until the end of the Victorian period. Income was derived from five main sources : Rents, Forestry, the Brick Kilns, the Racecourse, and the Home Farm all
3
contributing to the total, according to the account books.

The system of accounting varied from one agent to another at Goodwood, which makes the comparison of years and the charting of financial development through time extremely difficult. This does not seem to be unusual on estates: Martins describes
4
how Baker, the Holkham agent from 1832, changed the system of accounting and started ledgers and general payment books from that point. Not all the Goodwood account books have survived, and of those which have, the decade of the fifties presents something of a watershed, sandwiched as it was between the 39 years of John Rusbridger's term as agent, which ended in 1850, and the 30 years of Captain

1. D. Spring, quoted in D. Cannadine, 'Aristocratic Indebtedness in the 19th Century: the case reopened.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXX no.4, 1977, p.624.

2. See table 14.

3. S.W. Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.71.

4. Hampshire Telegraph, June 1st, 1850; W.S.G. June 17, 1887.

Valentine's agency which began in 1858. In the period between 1850 and 1858, a total of four agents held the post, either temporarily or as permanent appointments. The variety of approaches to keeping accounts is reflected in the different ways in which financial matters were organised during this time, and systems were changed with each agent.²

John Rusbridger had kept general accounts from 1818-1850, daybooks for receipts, debt books, weekly cash accounts and miscellaneous undifferentiated accounts known as 'Promiscuous accounts' and these have survived. It is not difficult to make comparisons within the years of Rusbridger's agency, and to compare some of the minutiae, although totals of income are not available for this period. There was little differentiation in the accounts: the Forest accounts were kept in with those of the Farm, the House and so on. None of Rusbridger's account books was continued in that form after his death in 1850, and that year displays a marked change in the way accounts were kept. Doubtless this was partly a reaction to irregularities in Rusbridger's accounting which were found after his death, and due also to the efforts of Thomas Balmer, who was employed as agent in the early fifties. Bank Pass Books were commenced in 1850, and three separate accounts were opened in three different banks: one of the estate accounts was held by Gruggen's Bank (later Barclays) in Chichester; a second was with the London and County Banking Co.; and the Duke of Richmond's Farm Account was held by Comper, Gruggen and Comper. The form of the accounts was changed, and for the first time each Estate enterprise kept separate accounts, with an abstract each half year to show how much was earned and spent.³

1. Hampshire Telegraph, June 1st, 1850; W.S.G. June 17, 1887.

2. Goodwood ms E6103, E5081, E5258, E5081/2.

3. Goodwood ms E5255/6 Cash Books 1818-50; E5295, Daybook for Receipts 1812-50; E5297 Promiscuous Accounts 1817-45; E5300/1 Weekly Cash Accounts 1835-49

4. Goodwood ms 1743 Letters from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair, 1850; Census Returns, Westhampnett Parish, 1851.

5. Goodwood ms E5257/8/9 Cash Books, 1853-59; E5374-89 Bank Pass Books 1850-1926

Balmer made a particular point of insisting that the Farm accounts were to be kept
1
separate. The changes in accounting make it difficult to compare the pre-1850
figures with those after the mid century, and the earlier figures must be suspect
anyway because after his death it was discovered that Rusbridger had been falsifying
the accounts, probably for some time. What did continue were the sources of income
on which the Estate drew.

The sources of landlord income (as opposed to estate income) are complex and
sometimes obscure : government and private funding might supplement what was obtained
from an estate; the landowner sometimes switched his resources from one pocket to
another, and as Martins points out, 'As yet we do not know enough about the
2
investment patterns of the aristocracy to be able to compare them.'. It seems clear
that at Goodwood some private funding came from Bentinck, who provided some of the
money for Racecourse improvement, for example, that the money from 'irregular income'
such as legacies and the sale of property affected how the Goodwood Estate operated,
and that the Duke of Richmond spent estate profits according to what he saw as his
3
priorities. This explains how Richmond could spend large sums on the public ritual
of his heir's coming of age, as described in the previous chapter, whilst economising
in other spheres. The accounts show payments to the fifth and sixth Dukes from
Estate profits: in 1853, the agent wrote that 'I can get nearly £1,000 extra from the
farm this year, but I expect the Duke will want most of it for Goodwood or London.',
but money flowed in the opposite direction as well, and injections of cash were not
4
uncommon. In 1861, the sixth Duke paid £1,000 into the Estate account, with a

1. E6103, Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to R. Arras, 1851.

2. S.W. Martins, A Great Estate At Work, 1980, p.65.

2. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.117; J. Kent and F. Lawley, The Racing Life of Lord George Bentinck, 1892, p.331 refers to the unstinting way Bentinck spent money on racing, including loans to Kent. C. Kirby The English Country Gentleman, ND, but post 1932, p.36 speaks of Bentinck 'consoling himself with visions of the many races which he expected to win' in order 'to offset the immense expense' of funding the Goodwood improvements.

3. Goodwood ms E6105, Agent's Letterbook, R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct 3, 1855.

further £1,200 the following year, and £700 in 1863. Adams refers to the place of 'non-estate income' in supplementing landowners' finances in the East Riding, but concludes that incomes from non-estate sources in the cases of agricultural owners
2
were of secondary importance. If this is so, then the fact that there is little information on the dividends and other business sources from which the Duke might have drawn income is less significant than it might be, despite the fact that any discussion of the Richmonds' income cannot be a full summary.

Three of the five sources of the Goodwood Estate's income were in line with most contemporary agricultural estates: Rents, Forestry, and the Brick Kilns formed part of the income of most of the Sussex estates, and of others, further afield. Martins makes that point that rents, woodland and brick kilns were the only enterprises managed directly by the estate (aside from the Home Farm), even when the landowner
3
himself had other sources of income. Robinson restricts income from the Duke of Sutherland's Trentham Estates to farm, tithe, cottage and industrial rents, and sees the estate's 'tilery' as an item of expenditure, rather than a source of income, and Adams found that the estates of the East Riding relied mainly on rents, with some
4
timber sales, home farm and shooting rights. The Goodwood Estate was unusual in that the Racecourse figured as a source of income, although not a major one.

The percentage of the Goodwood Estate income relying on rents was high, and as with many estates, rents were 'still by far the main source of incomes and determined the
5
financial position and outlook of the majority of the landed interest.'. Tenant

1. Goodwood ms E5262, vol.1, 1858-64.

2. M.Adams, Agricultural Change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: An Economic and Social History. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Hull, 1977, p.254.2. S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.83.

3. Robinson The components of Change in Agricultural Activity - A Study of Selected Areas of the West Midlands from the mid 1860s. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 1977, p.142; M.Adams, op.cit. Chapter 10.

4. J.D.Chambers and G.Mingay The Agricultural Revolution, 1966 p.167

farms accounted for at least 65% of the total area of the Duke of Richmond's Sussex lands in 1850, and the rents paid by their tenants formed the bulk of the income at Goodwood, accounting for between 60% and 71% of total income in the two decades from 1852. Generally, there was a steady increase in the rental received, amounting to an overall increase of 19% by the end of this 20 year period. ¹ Nationally, rents at this time increased by between one fifth and a quarter in the 25 years from 1850. Caird estimated an increase of 21% between 1850 and 1875; Chambers and Mingay calculate a similar increase between 1851/2 and 1878/9, and F.M.L. Thompson suggests that the increase on an individual estate might be anywhere from 10 to 30% between 1853 and 1878. The Goodwood rent movements follow the national trend, especially according to the timing of rent movements, which seem to have been raised in the mid fifties, held steady in the sixties and raised again in the early seventies, but the actual increases at Goodwood were slightly below the national average. ² This is not surprising in the light of Thompson's suggestion that rents increased less ³ dramatically in areas where corn was more significant than dairying.

Figures recorded under the heading of 'rents' must be treated with caution, for they included other income from property as well: property sold was included in the total, ⁴ and must be taken into account. The high figure for 1855/6 was the result of land sold in order to finance the purchase of Halnaker Manor in the following year. In 1857, a further 43 acres brought in £1,372 when part of Old Lavant Common was sold, and the buying and selling of modest portions of land was an ongoing process as the

1. See table 15; See Figure 5.

2. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1878, p.93; J.D.Chambers and G.E. Mingay The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880, 1966, p.163, F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.241.

3. F.M.L. Thompson, 'The End of a Great Estate,' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.8 no.2, 1955, p.50.

4. See table 14.

1

Estate was consolidated in the fifties and sixties.

Rents were of farms, houses and cottages, and Goodwood had none of the industrial rents which some estates could rely on, and which showed remarkable increases at this time. An example of how such rents increased in value can be seen by studying the figures of the Lilleshall Estates, Lord Stafford's lands in Shropshire. Richards points out that he benefited from the increasing proportion of his rental which came from industrial sources, and by 1855, one third of the gross rental of the Lilleshall estates came from industrial leases. On his Trentham Estates the figure for the same year was £3,051 out of £14,230. Although Richmond did not benefit from industrial leases, industrial development was responsible for weakening the unity of interest shared by the landowners of the west of Sussex. In 1853, the Sussex Agricultural Express reported on a visit made by one Sussex landowner: 'The new town which is springing up on His Grace's property was first visited. In the vast manufactories and rows of houses that have appeared in that neighbourhood is seen one of the most striking proofs of ...progress and prosperity.'. The landowner was the Duke of Norfolk, and the town was Sheffield, already prosperous, and to become more so when Bessemer chose the town as the setting for his new process. The profits from the subsequent development of the Sheffield steel trade financed the development and rebuilding of Arundel castle later in the century. An estate such as Goodwood which did not have industrial interests did not have this flexibility.

Rents formed the bulk of the Estate's income, and they also provided most of the

1. Goodwood ms, E5112, Land sold by Duke of Richmond to George Henty, 1857.
2. E.Richards, 'The Industrial Face of a Great Estate: Trentham and Lilleshall, 1780-1860.', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXVII no.3, 1974, p.429.
3. S.A.E. Sept. 24, 1853

working capital for the landlord. The importance of arriving at a system which guaranteed the tenant's ability to pay even in bad years is clear, and the methods of assessing rents changed during the fifties, and various schemes were tried in order to arrive at a satisfactory system. The workings of these methods from the tenants' perspectives show something of the uncertainty of the farmers in a period which is often passed over as calm, prosperous and unchanging. Although information is not completely comprehensive (partly due to the changes in agents) rents are well documented at Goodwood in terms of Estate records, although nothing survives from individual farms.

The fifties opened with full rent reviews of the farms at Goodwood in 1851, and these must be seen in the context of the depression of 1849/53 which affected the perspectives of landlord and tenant alike. Thompson has described this as 'perhaps¹ the sharpest depression for thirty years'. It varied in intensity from one region to another and at different times. In February 1851, Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer told the Commons that 'I assert broadly and without fear of contradiction that the agricultural labourer throughout England never in the memory of man was so prosperous as at this moment.', yet when the M.P. for Cheltenham replied to his speech, he warned of disaster.² 'If this state of things lasted much longer, the farmers would be unable to employ the peasantry, so that the condition of the poor would become deplorable, and that of the tenant farmer as bad.'

Periods of pressure like this enabled landlords to exercise a dual measure of control

1. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.240.

2. Hansard, 3rd ser. vol CXIV Feb 11 1851, pp. 421, 443.

over and support for their tenants in the awarding of rent rebates, allowing delays in payment, striking out arrears and alleviating the burdens of tenants who were in difficulties.¹ As a result, some farmers gave up their units, whilst others managed to survive until the pressure eased. However, the many stages through which any tenant had to pass in the process between inability to pay and the quitting of a farm varied, and at any point, the tenant might find a way to pay, or be helped in some way, and thus not complete the process. Well established rent rituals, often tenant initiated, operated on the Estate, with different results to suit individual cases. Sometimes tenants declared verbally that they would quit; on other occasions inability to pay rent resulted in negotiation, a field, a croft, an orchard or buildings might be given up and the rent reduced accordingly. Such practices were not unique: on the nearby Cowdray Estate, the tenant of Crypt Farm gave notice to quit at Lady Day 1852, but after negotiation, he gave up seven cottages and an orchard,² the rent was reduced and he remained as a tenant. P.F.Michael provides examples of similar happenings amongst the tenant farmers of Merioneth where tenants dealt individually with landlords in attempts to gain reductions, and landlords granted abatements to individuals relatively easily, for this enabled them to ease a difficult situation without having to grant all round rent reductions.³

The management's willingness to modify farm boundaries or vary the rent slightly is also connected with the fact that such solutions provided better long term prospects for the estate than insistence on rigid deadlines. Non-payment of a tenant's rent meant a reduction of the estate's working capital, and for the tenant, getting behind

1. See, for example, Goodwood Ms E19, Farm measurements and valuations

2. Cowdray ms, Uncatalogued Daybook Lady Day 1852.

3. P.F.Michael, Tenant Farming in Merioneth. Unpublished M.A.Thesis, Univ. of Wales, 1978, p.225

with the rent presented him with an increasingly large debt which would have to be paid sooner or later, either in cash or by relinquishing his goods, and made the individual less likely to be awarded estate materials for development or improvement of his farm, or to have new buildings, which would mean an addition to his already burdensome rent.

By the time the depression had ended, a sliding scale based on the price of wheat had been adopted at Goodwood as a measure of security against what was seen as a shifting situation. The working of this scale from the tenant's point of view has to be seen against the background of the economics of farming during the depression which gave cause for concern in many ways. Total dependence on wheat prices for one year could result in large rent movements, and in the sixties, the sliding scale was modified to take some account of wheat prices, but avoided total dependence on any one year. The 1851 rent reviews, the effects of the depression, the sliding scale and its modification will each be considered in turn in the context of the Goodwood Estate.

Since the baseline against which rents are measured is created by the 1851 rent reviews, and the 1850/1 valuations of farms, a consideration of how these affected tenants is necessary. The reason for the reviews seems to be the requirements of the Commutation of Tithes Act, and the Sussex reviews for this were among the last to take place. Not surprisingly, as they were carried out during the depression, help of varying sorts had to be given to some farmers in the short term, but the reviews had a more permanent effect in colouring the perspectives and expectations of farmers

1. Goodwood ms ES154, Valuations, 1851.

and estate managers.

At Goodwood, the depression reached its peak in 1851, with rent reductions made on many of the farms. These were calculated on an individual basis, the reduction varying between units. At Barnham farm, for example, the 1851 rent of £110 was reduced by £5 whereas the reduction for East Lavant Farm amounted to £12 out of a total of £480.¹ Other farmers who had no reduction, were nevertheless having great difficulty in paying their rents. At Birdham Farm, the annual rent was normally paid in two instalments, but in 1851/2, these were increased to five smaller ones - £37/3/11 was paid at Michelmas, with a further £5/6/0 two months later.² A third payment followed on March 23rd, when £22/10/0 was paid, and a further identical payment was made on April 13th. The rent was then completed with a payment of £20 on June 22nd.³

The pattern at Goodwood was for tenants to be awarded small rent reductions, varying from the 2.5% at East Lavant to 4.5% at Barnham, and recovery was speedy for most of the farmers, eased by the fact that some of the arrears were struck out in 1853.⁴ This might suggest that the depression at Goodwood was not as severe as elsewhere in the area. Referring back to this time, the Richmond Commission emphasised that in Sussex, the result of this depression was to put immense pressure on the small owner/occupier, resulting in 'the small owner being almost killed out'.⁵ Farmers' vulnerability to short, sharp depressions in economic terms, was well known, and it could be that the estate system acted as something of a cushion against the more

1. Goodwood ms E5154, Valuations, 1851
2. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, 30 Sept, 30 Oct 1852.
3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, 23 Mar, 13 Apr, 22 June, 1853.
4. Goodwood ms E5413 Abstract Rentals, 1853.
5. P.P. Report of Meeting with Assistant Commissioner Little, Chichester 1879, p.439.

drastic effects of short term economic crisis.

Further investigation reveals that the long term effects of this depression were much more drastic than a temporary setback, caused by a few bad seasons. One significant result was that it had the effect of polarising the farmers into two groups: those who could withstand the pressure survived, and had the capacity to expand and prosper; those who could not experienced more than passing difficulties. The capitulation of the latter may not have come immediately, but all the farmers on the Estate who quit in the early and middle fifties, *had records of problems in the years* 1849-53, and almost a quarter of the farmers on the Estate gave up between 1850¹ and 1853. Some had a record of being in arrears. A letter from the son of Thomas Johnson who farmed 618 acres in the downland parish of East Dean expressed surprise that the agent was concerned about the late payment of his father's rent. 'If you will kindly extend your indulgence a little longer, he will by Michelmas next be no further in arrears than at the like period last year.'² Others simply gave up: the ultimate sign of total inability to redeem the situation being to disappear completely. D.K. Branwell of Adsdean Farm was behind with the rent, and ignored all the agent's requests for payment. Finally, in 1853, he disappeared to London, and³ the Duke had to resort to the procedure of distraint to obtain the value of his rent.

This polarisation of the farmers was significant: in almost every case, problems with the rent during the 1849-53 period at Goodwood which involved requests to delay payment, inability to pay on time, or anything which could not immediately be solved

1. See table 16.

2. Goodwood ms E5104, Letter to J.Rusbridger from T.Johnson's son, May 1849.

3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, 19th, 20th, 22nd Mar, 1853;

by a rent reduction, ultimately meant that the farmer would leave. One farmer in
1
four had quit in the period 1850-3, and by 1856, the figure was one in three.

Only one farmer who was in difficulty during the early fifties managed to survive.
John Sadler of West Lavant was in arrears with his rent, requesting more time to pay
in 1849 when the Lady Day rent was finally paid on June 24th, and reaching the stage
in 1853, when the agent refused to discuss Sadler's rent verbally with him, gave him
one week to settle his debts to the management, and instructed him not to sell any
2
produce off the farm. Sadler was unusual in being the only farmer on the Estate in
these kinds of difficulties who survived for more than a few years, and he remained
3
at West Lavant farm until his death in 1865.

On some estates, farms were taken in hand by the management, but in times where
landlord capital was scarce, they were reluctant to do this, since the process
usually involved the refurbishing or improvement of the units. The Arkwright's
bailiff was appointed to 'reside on any farm which falls vacant and to farm the said
land in the approved style of cultivation and to superintend all improvements until
4
the farm is to be let.'. Thompson confirms landlord reluctance to take farms in hand
at this time, but points to the shortage of good tenants willing to take on farms in
the early fifties. Because of this, some estates were forced to take farms in hand:
by 1849 on the Cowdray Estate, Ambersham, Lurgashall Park and Sowters Farm were taken
5
in hand, and Upper Vinings was added to the list at Michaelmas 1850. At Goodwood,
none of the farms was taken in hand during this period, and there seems to have been

1. See table 16..

2. Goodwood ms E5104, Letter from J.Sadler to J.Rusbridger N.D.(1846/9); from T.Balmer to J.Sadler, 24th Feb.; 1st and 7th Mar. 1853.

3. Goodwood ms E5298/9 Accumulating Fund 4. D. Spring, 'Landownership in the 19th century: a critical note', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.IX no.3, 1957, pp. 474/5.

4. See Fig. 2, Family tree of the Dukes of Richmond.

5. Cowdray ms, Uncatalogued Daybook Michaelmas 1850, Lady Day 1851, Lady Day 1852, Michaelmas, 1854.

no shortage of willing tenants. Of the ten farms whose tenants finally gave up, two were taken on by other tenants on the Estate; one was offered to an existing tenant,¹ but the farm was not taken up, and a new tenant was speedily found. He took on two² of the farms, and merged them into a single unit. Two further farms were sold to another tenant, and some land conveniently situated was taken in part exchange; two new tenants were found for other farms, and the remaining farms lost their identity - one being split between three other farms, and the other mainly added as permanent³ acreage to the Goodwood Home Farm. It seems as though these difficulties resulted in a growth of average unit size, and a slight reduction in the number of farms. To an extent, this parallels the point referred to earlier and made to the Richmond Commission on the demise of the small owner, since the small tenant suffered a similar fate. For some farmers, this was quite clearly a time of stress, since the number of farmers who quit in the remainder of the fifties was much smaller, and apart from one farmer who gave up in 1857 at the age of 80, the other changes were⁴ due to the buying and selling of land. This then was the background against which the rent reviews took place.

The requirements of the Commutation of Tithes Act, the need to look closely at rents as a result of the depression and at Goodwood the desire to straighten out affairs after the death of the agent, John Rusbridger, provided motivation for the management to use the information from the rent reviews constructively. Because they coincided with the interim period between agents, the job of collating the information fell to the Duke's secretary, Dr. Archibald Hair, who recommended the adoption of a corn

1. See table 16.

2. Goodwood ms E6104 Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to T.Balmer, 26 May, 1853.

3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, R.Arras to T.Balmer, 22nd Mar. 1853.

4. Goodwood ms E5082, Schedules of Repairs, 1856/7.

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rent. The Duke of Richmond was one of half a dozen improving landlords listed by
Mehi, and the corn rent idea was thought to be one means whereby improved farming
2
could be brought about. It found favour with agriculturists, who rejected the notion
that in years of distress the landlord ought to support his tenant farmers by
reducing rents as an act of paternalistic benevolence. Low thought that such
landlords ought to be condemned for bad management, since for the farmer, the only
way to survive efficiently was to have the rent fixed at a level which took the bad
3
years into account. The corn rent ensured that rents moved up and down according to
the price of wheat, and on some estates such as those of the Duke of Bedford,
involvement in the scheme was optional. Not all his tenants chose to alter their
4
rents to corn rents, and at Goodwood the tenants were not offered the option.

Before the sliding scale was adopted, the rents remained fixed, regardless of cost or
profit, and for the tenant this represented the same problem as his landlord faced
with regard to land tax. In the eyes of many, this placed the agricultural interest
at a disadvantage compared to manufacturers. The latter were taxed on their profits,
and had the advantage that tax paid fluctuated with the prosperity of the individual
enterprise. When profits were low, taxes dropped accordingly, and when high the
increased total coped with the greater level of tax. This was similar to the old
tithe system - and many agriculturists had hated it. The problem was that any
improvement or intensification of effort or efficiency, resulted in benefit to the
Church, which had to find no extra labour costs, experienced no risk of capital, and
no increase of effort. When the Commutation of Tithes Act removed the aggravating

1. Goodwood ms E5154, Valuations and Dr Hair's memo, 1851.

2. J.J.Mehi, How to Farm Profitably, 1857, p.11

3. D.Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.28

4. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.243.

system and replaced it with a straightforward rent charge, informed opinion of the time thought this fairer, and it is therefore surprising that farmers and landowners moved away from a fixed rent level. However, the aggravation was not so much the movement of the contribution, but rather the way in which the Church benefited from improvement without participation. The essence of the landlord/tenant relationship was that both parties were involved in the enterprise.

When the 1851 calculations were made, Dr Hair summarised the possibilities as follows for the half year:

Present total income from rents	Wheat @ 48/-	@44/-	@40/-
£9587	£9447	£8705	£7964

1

At the point when the figures were worked out, the price of wheat was 44/3d, and the Duke was warned that on this basis, a drop of 9%, or £882 could be expected under the new system. For example, the rent would be £348/6/8 with wheat at 40/-, £415/18/8 if it reached 48/- and £299 at 40/-. Not everyone was so pessimistic. The Duke of Portland revalued his whole estate, and commuted half of each rent to a corn rent, taking 56/- as the basis and the Goodwood valuer did quote wheat at 40/-, 48/- and 56/- in some of the 1851 valuations. Dr Hair's choice of the lower figures is symptomatic of the trepidation with which Richmond faced the fifties, and he was not alone. Thompson describes the decade in farming terms as 'unsettled' and E.L.Jones suggests that there was 'niggling unease' which pervaded the thinking of many farmers

1. Goodwood ms E5302, 1851.

2. Goodwood ms E5302, 1851.

3. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.240; Goodwood ms E5302, 1851.

at the time. The predictions of the Protectionists had been that if the Corn Laws were repealed, wheat prices would drop and this was precisely what had happened, dropping to 44/3d in 1850, and then to 38/3 in 1851. It must have seemed as though their worst fears were realised: the drop through the 40/- barrier was particularly crucial, as wheat became uneconomic below this figure. Writing in the following year, Surtees made reference to this disastrous situation in Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour when Lord Scamperdale met the farmer Mr Springwheat. ' "Well, Springy," said he, "I was just asking your wife after the new babby.", but the farmer shook his head and told him ' "thank you my lord, no new babbies, my lord, with wheat below forty,
²
 my lord." '.

As an ardent Protectionist, the Duke shared this pessimistic outlook as has been shown in Chapter Two. There was also the record of past prices since the Duke had
³
 taken over at Goodwood. Only once in the twenties did the price fall below 50/-; in four years of the decade it was between 50/- and 59/1ld, and in the remaining five
⁴
 years it was between 60/- and 69/1ld. The 1830s had shown more extreme movements - once wheat exceeded 70/-, and once it fell below 40/-. The other years were more moderate - three in the 50/- to 59/1ld band, three between 60/- and 69/1ld, and two between 40/- and 49/1ld. The 1840s saw a return to more modest movements: in six years of the decade, the price of wheat remained between 50/- and 59/1ld, in three between 60/- and 69/1ld, and only once did it fall below 50/- to 44/3d
⁵
 in 1849.

1. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.242; E.L. Jones, 'English Farming Before and During the 19th Century', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.8, 1955, p.150.
2. J. Surtees, Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour, 1852, p.193.
3. Goodwood ms E5302 Sums Paid by Dr Hair after Rusbridger's death, June/July 1850
4. See table 17.
5. Ibid.

One effect of the sliding scale tied to wheat prices might have been to lend a degree of uncertainty to the rental. Unlike meat and dairy produce, where the trend seemed to be steadily upwards, that of wheat was very variable, which was inevitable in a commodity dependent on harvests and the weather.¹ Further, how assured the rental was as a secure sum for the owner depended on the landlord's ability to ensure that the tenant paid his rent, and farmed in such a way that the land did not depreciate in value. This had been true without the sliding scale however, and one problem for the landowner was and had always been the fine balance between long and short term solutions to situations in which tenants could not pay their rents. Low might criticise landlord abatements, but it made good economic sense to alleviate pressure in the short term in order to obtain rent in the long run, and to avoid a tenant giving up his farm, leading to the process of reletting with the management possibly having to take the farm in hand in the meantime.² The result of all this might well be a different but not necessarily better, tenant. The financial penalties for the management were considerable and there is some evidence of incoming tenants at Goodwood demanding lower rents upon entry to a farm. Sometimes there had to be an interim period when the estate took a farm in hand to clean it in preparation for a new tenant. On the Cowdray Estate, a bailiff was employed to reside on any such farm and to oversee the process of putting it in order.³ The possibility of having to take farms in hand gave management a vested interest in the efficiency of existing tenants, and an additional impetus to oversee farming standards, as poor units failed to attract tenants of enterprise, capital and skill. Only during the post-Rusbridger period did the acting agent at Goodwood display reluctance to intervene. Perhaps the

1. See table 18.

2. D.Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.28.

3. Cowdray ms, Uncatalogued Daybook, Michaelmas 1850.

assurance of rent (which they would eventually get, either in cash or the tenant's goods) was preferable to the loss, not only of any rent if the farm were taken in hand, but also of any working capital which the tenant might provide.

No indications have been found as to the tenants' reactions to the sliding scale, although the working of the scale must have varied from good to bad years. In a good year when prices were low, with a plentiful harvest, wage bills for farmers might be higher because of the extra labour required to get in the crop, but outgoings in terms of labour were compensated by lower rents to be paid to the landowner, tied to the lower prices they would get for their crops. In bad years, when the price of wheat ensured high prices for produce sold, there could be problems for tenants. If scarcity were the reason for the high prices, tenants would have less to sell, and although less had to be paid in labour for bringing in the harvests, there was also a higher rent to pay. If large quantities of wheat had been harvested, but the quality of much of it was poor, the wage bill for labour would still be high. For the individual farmer, the range of the rent he could be called upon to pay was considerable. At Felpham Farm, for example, the rent would be £348/6/8d with wheat at 40/-, and £418/18/8d if it reached 48/-; at Boxgrove Farm, it would be £299 at 40/-,¹ and £357 at 48/-.

On the whole, although the sliding scale had its weaknesses, it was satisfactory in reflecting the current state of prices. In the event, the rental was a secure sum for Richmond, despite variations from year to year, and provided him with reliable

1. Goodwood ms E5154, Valuations, 1851.

income, especially after 1853 when arrears were no longer a problem. Perhaps absence of arrears, distress or complaint shows that the scale worked well enough. In the sixties, even less uncertainty was achieved by taking the average of prices for the previous seven years. The actual price of wheat in that decade varied between 40/2d and 64/5d, but the average for the seven year periods varied only between 47/9d and 59/9d, cutting down the range from 24/- to exactly half that.¹ This certainly reduced the fluctuations, but between 1851 and 1871, whatever method used to assess the rents, rents at Goodwood rose steadily upwards. Despite fluctuations in wheat prices, the rent total remained buoyant and plotted a steady upward curve.

The baseline for this movement was the 1851 valuations.

OLD AND NEW RENTS ON GOODWOOD TENANT FARMS.

SOURCE: 1851 RENT REVIEWS

FARMS	OLD RENT £	NEW RENT £	PER ACRE	CHANGE %
BARNHAM	138/10/0	135	38/3	-3
BARNHAM	120	110	37/-	-8
BIRDHAM	100	85	27/6	-15
BOXGROVE	367/17/4	335	21/6	-9
CHARLTON	250	260	16/6	+4
DROKE	205	185	15/6	-10
EAST LAVANT	480	460	20/9	-4
EAST LAVANT	504	480	22/6	-5
EAST WITTERING	415	360	29/3	-13
FELPHAM	FIGURES NOT EXTANT.			
FISHBOURNE	190	165	33/-	-13
GROVES	307	270	27/-	-12
LANGFORD	858/15/0	780	22/6	-9
OLD HOUSE	200	170	22/9	-15
OLD PLACE	280	285	30/6	+2
OLDWICK	215/1/0	200	23/6	-7
RAUGHMERE	315	295	24/-	-6
SEABEACH	150/14/0	160	27/-	+6
SELHURST PARK	250	275	12/6	+10

1. See table 19.

FARMS	OLD RENT £	NEW RENT £	PER ACRE	CHANGE %
SINGLETON	380	340	17/-	-11
STEIN	170	190	13/6	+12
ST MARYS	226	190	27/3	-16
STOKE	380/19/0	350	21/6	-8
STRETTINGTON	282/10/0	230	27/-	-18
STRETTINGTON LITTLE 44		50	24/-	+14
TANGMERE	475/5/0	400	27/6	-16
WAREHEAD	175)			
LATE WHITES	132/2/10)	290	24/-	-6
WESTERTON	500	470	35/3	-6
WESTHAMNETT	365	340	32/6	-7
WEST LAVANT	632/16/0	560	29/3	-10
WOODCOTE	482/12/0	475	28/6	-2

The average rent of a Goodwood farm per acre after these valuations was 24/10d -
1
slightly below Caird's figure of 25/-. Such averages concealed tremendous variations, reflecting the different quality of land which was to be found in one area, and even within one estate. Rents per acre at Goodwood varied from the 38/3d per acre of one of the Barnham farms down to Selhurst Park, which paid only 12/6d per acre. About half the farms on the Estate were rated in the middle of this range, seventeen farms having rents per acre between 22/6d and 27/-, but that still left ten which had rents above 27/- and five below 17/6d per acre. Not surprisingly, the high rents were associated with high quality arable land on the coastal plain, and very low rents were to be found on downland farms. The new totals resulted in an average drop of 6%, but ranged from increases of 12% at Stein Farm and 10% on Selhurst Park, to decreases of 16% at Strettington and St Mary's Farms. The 12% rise at Stein, compared to the 10% drop at nearby Droke Farm is initially puzzling, since both farms are in the same parish. This confirms the national picture which shows how widely farm rents varied. Abatements of 10% were not uncommon at this time - the Wilton, Savernake and Longleat estates experienced such a drop; the Duke of Bedford's tenants

1. J. Caird, English Farming 1850-1851, 1852, p.474.

paid their rents at varying rates; the estates of the Marquis of Bath in Shropshire and Herefordshire show no alterations to their rents, and there were some farms whose tenants had to agree to increases in order to secure new leases.¹

Improvements accounted for some of the rent rises: Droke Farm for instance, paid a rent of £205, plus £2/8/8d in lieu of tithes between 1850 and 1856. For the next two years, the rent had increased to £252, and by 1869, it had reached £280.² Certainly some of the increase was due to buildings which were undertaken, and undoubtedly, the Estate expected a return on its investments which would be reflected in the rent. Lack of complaints from the farmers, and few changes in tenancies probably indicate that these increases were within the payment range of the farmers. This might also be taken as an indication of general prosperity, with improvements of the farms and their amenities. The average percentage of total income provided by rents in the years 1852-6 was 67%, compared to a drop to 64% between 1868 and 1872.³

Jones has suggested that an estate in the mid nineteenth century was really a collection of half a dozen different and quite distinct enterprises, and this is well illustrated by the evidence from Goodwood.⁴ Further income for the estate was drawn from the Forestry, from the Estate's Brick Kilns and from the Goodwood Home Farm. Initially, each enterprise was created to serve the needs of the estate, but in the 1850s, they were developed and materials were sold off the estate as well. Their independence was emphasised in the accounts, in which each was treated as a separate

1. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, pp.241-243.

2. Goodwood ms. Droke Farm's Rent, E5154,1851; E5409,1852/3; 1856/8 (General Ledger); E5154,1869.

3. See table 14.

4. E.L. Jones, The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873, 1968, p.19.

1

entity, independent of the others. Materials were bought and sold as though from external sources (although at more favourable rates) and recorded in the accounts.

This makes it difficult to assess how much money the Estate was really making, since some of the money recorded as income for the Forestry, for example, came from the

2

Home Farm and the Brick Kilns. The same was true of the house, which paid the Home Farm for animals for meat and for other produce, the forest for timber, and the Brick Kilns for bricks and tiles.

The Forestry enterprises had been developed over a period, and it was natural that forestry should form part of the estate's income. It was perhaps surprising that it had not done so before the 19th century. Horsfield commented upon the amount of timber in Sussex, and thought it unrivalled in Britain either in quantity or in

3

quality 'it flourishes with a great deal of luxuriance'. At Goodwood, the 3rd Duke's tree planting had begun while he was still in the army. His most spectacular achievement was the planting of the 1,000 cedar saplings from Mount Lebanon, but

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many other varieties of tree could be found in the area as well. Forestry accounts show that beech, ash, fir, yew, elm, chestnut and oak were all part of the estate's

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silviculture, and this was not an unusual variety in the area. The Cowdray Timber

6

Daybook includes all the above, and larch, alders and birch plants as well. In addition to materials for the Estate's building programmes, fences for farms (and at Goodwood, for the Racecourse), demanded timber, and wood was needed for hoops, hurdles, repairs and implements and many other purposes. Some of the income came

1. Goodwood ms E 5303, Estate Daybook, 1850.

2. Goodwood ms E5304/5 Home Farm Accounts, 1853/4; 1855/6

3. T.H. Cooper in Horsfield, The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex, vol 2, 1835, p.6 of Appendix.

4. W.H. Mason, Goodwood, its House, Park and Grounds, 1839 pp.160-166

5. Goodwood ms E5448, Timber Daybook, 1864/5.

6. Cowdray ms 1868 Timber Daybook, 1842-

from local sources which were supplied with timber, but others were much further afield. The existence of water transport in the area was significant in permitting the development of the forestry enterprises, and canal and sea transport were often used. Although quay dues and the rent of warehouses had to be added to the price, the timber could still fetch favourable prices and be in demand. Cowdray timber went to Staffordshire, Worcester, Berkshire, Manchester and Nantwich, and Goodwood sent acorns and timber to Aberdeen, to the midlands and north, and to London, including a¹ request to supply wood for the piles of Blackfriars Bridge.

Timber on the Estate was being used for repairs, maintenance, to provide finance for the Accumulating Fund, and forestry enterprises had developed to such an extent that some materials were sold off the Estate, and the accounts began to show a profit. At Holkham, Martins found that although the forestry provided a sizeable return - more than could be produced by the Home Farm, for example - it remained far smaller than the totals provided by the rental, and was not a flexible enough source of income to² provide an alternative when rents fell. At Goodwood, the management began to sell timber off the Estate in the early fifties, and Forestry showed a steady increase³ over the four year period between 1852 and 1856. Of the £5,834 total in 1854/5, £1278 was paid by the estate's sawmill and engine to the estate's forestry⁴ department. Similarly, payments for wood were made by the household department, the stables, and for buildings and contingencies. In 1845/5, Forestry supplied the estate with almost a quarter of its income, and was clearly an important aspect of

1. Goodwood ms 1862, J.Rusbridger to Richmond, Jan 15, 1834; Cowdray ms 1868, Timber Daybook, 1842-1848 section

2. S.W. Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.84.

3. Goodwood ms E5409-13 Abstract Rentals 1852-6.

4. Goodwood ms E5411, Abstract Rental 1854-5.

estate development. The engine in the sawmill had been expensive to install, but the increasing work it coped with and the growing amount of timber which was not required for estate use as brick buildings became more common, showed how rapidly the investment paid off. The Goodwood Forestry figures compare favourably with those of other estates. The Duke of Bedford's Beds and Bucks estates for example, were almost twice the size of Goodwood, and the forestry totals were almost double those at Goodwood.

	GOODWOOD	BEDS AND BUCKS	
1852/3	£3,262	£8,499	
1853/4	£4,406	£9,790	
1854/5	£5,834	£10,409	
1855/6	£6,388	£6,868	1

Yet whereas the Goodwood figures show a steady increase, and the total profit had almost exactly doubled in the four years, the Bedford Estates figures actually dropped in 1856 and were lower than in the 1852 figure. In the early sixties, Forestry totals at Goodwood increased. After a drop in 1861/2, the sales climbed,² until in 1864, there was a 25% increase over the 1860 total.

The figures for the Brick Kilns show a steady increase too, reaching a peak in 1854/5 and dropping slightly the following year. As with Forestry totals, much of this profit came from the estate itself, although there was payment from external sources as well. Nevertheless, supplying the Estate with its requirements remained the priority, and in 1853, the decision was taken to stop all sales off the Estate for

1. Dk.of Bedford, A Great Agricultural Estate, 1897, pp.232-5; Goodwood ms E5409-13 Abstract Rentals 1852-6.

2. Ibid. See also Table 20.

twelve months because so many were being used on the property, and applicants had to be informed that the agent was 'sorry we cannot accommodate you with the bricks you
1
require, as our own buildings take all that can be prepared in the meantime.'. Despite this demand, the largest total for the Brick Kilns in the four years was only 5% of the total income of the Estate, and it represented a very small element of the income.

Even less income was provided by the Home Farm, which received much of its income from the House. Household expenses for grain, vegetables and meat, feed for the stables and kennels and so on, make up most of the farm accounts. However, from the mid century, the Farm did make a small profit, which increased rapidly through the fifties, and this was quite unusual, since such farms were primarily to supply the great house. Animals were bought from and sold to the tenant farmers, as well as further afield, grain and fodder was sold, and fees charged for the hire of Goodwood rams. Expenses were high: an estate daybook kept for only a few months in 1850 shows the division of labourers between the various Estate enterprises, and wage totals for
2
farm labourers were by far the greatest. It is true that the months covered represent those of the major harvests, but comparison with numbers of Home Farmworkers through two different years give some indication of the numbers who worked at other seasons. The agent's pleasure in being able to 'get nearly a thousand pounds extra from the farm this year' has been referred to, and shows that such profits were not necessarily reinvested into the enterprise from which they originated, indicating that although Jones may be right to suggest that the enterprises were separate in some senses, capital could be switched between them as

1. Goodwood ms E6104, R. Arras, Mar 22, 1853
2. See table 21.

1
seemed fit.

If supplying the House with its requirements was important, so was the Home Farm's role in setting an example of good farming practice. Bowick called this the effect of 'How they do things at the Hall', and stressed the importance of this aspect of a
2
farm's role. Any profit making by the Farm ought not to be overstressed, except insofar as it showed that economic efficiency and technical efficiency were compatible.

The final source of estate income was the Racecourse which held only one meeting in the year, at the end of July. Income was generated from entry money - which in 1853 amounted to £693 on Gold Cup Day alone - stalls and booths could be rented from the
3
management, and refreshments were sold. In the seven years from 1843-1849, the Racecourse showed an increase in its profits as recorded in the agent's notebook -

Total Income	Total Expenditure	Profit
£	£	£
1843 2045/3/0	1469/1/8	576/1/4
1844 1809/4/0	1335/11/6	574/12/6
1845 1913/15/0	1429/8/6	494/6/6
1846 2000/ 5/6	1307/0/0	693/5/6
1847 2190/17/0	1440/17/6	749/19/6
1848 2178/4/6	1166/8/0	1012/6/6
1849 2414/9/6	1285/8/10	1129/1/6

Source: John Rusbridger's Racecourse Notebook, Goodwood ms. E5198.

1. Goodwood ms E6105 R.Arras to T. Blmer Oct.3, 1855.
2. T. Bowick, 'On the Management of A Home Farm', J.R.A.S.E. vol.23, 1862
3. Goodwood ms E5197 Racecourse Accounts

Income increased and profit increased, but expenditure on the course dropped as a percentage of the gross income. The improvements to the course from Michelmas 1829 to 1843 amounted to £17409/16/0, whereas the net income from the races was £10,453/1/0, so that according to the agent 'the average receipts for the last 14 years...amount to £746/13/0'¹. Hunn suggested that Goodwood had reached its zenith as a race meeting by the early forties, but the accounts show that after that point profits from the Course reached a more significant level.²

This represented a tremendous investment in terms of time and labour for such a small profit. Labourers' wages for working on the course were not listed in the Racecourse accounts: they came out of a general labour force on the Estate. The organisation of law and order at the meeting was complicated, since Sussex had no county police force until 1857, and constables were brought down from London.³ Their transport to the railway station, from London to Drayton near Portsmouth by rail had to be paid for; and a conveyance had to be provided to take them from Drayton to Goodwood, and then from Goodwood House to the course and back each day.⁴ Accommodation had to be found for them, their keep paid for, and their wages paid. The Estate also paid for the keep, conveyance and miscellaneous expenses of any prisoners who were taken and for the printing of such warning notices as those against 'persons begging' and 'no horses tied to trees'.⁵ Cards and sheets for the judges were printed, details of the races and the printing of tickets had to be seen to and the money had to be collected from the booth holders, and those concerned with the refreshments. The management had to work hard to make the meeting widely known - advertisements were placed in the

1. Goodwood ms E5198 Rusbridger's Racecourse Notebook, 1843-9
2. Ibid.; D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, pp.96,127.
3. See table 22.
4. Goodwood ms E5198 Rusbridger's Racecourse Notebook 1843-9
5. Ibid.

Telegraph, the Express, Bell's Life and the Sussex Advertiser - and bills and posters were printed. Money had to be collected from the booth holders, and these were quite small sums at times. Although the two play booths brought in £125 each in the early forties, most of the other booths were small, and George Bridger, for example, paid only £2/5/0 for his 50 feet of space. The time spent by the agent in dealing with administrative matters connected with the race meeting was considerable each year,¹ but this was not costed in the Racecourse accounts.

In the fifties, the profits were even smaller. Costs had fallen by this time, since Bentinck had given up racing in 1846, and the Course was no longer developing as it had been, and income fell also.² Yet even when the profits were so small, the Duke continued to hold the meeting. This indicates that the reasons for the races were not purely economic, as closer examination of the personalities involved and their motives shows.

The Forest, Brick Kilns and Home Farm have in common that each was initially performing a necessary function for the Estate, and the commercial development of the enterprise was a secondary stage. To an extent, the Racecourse was performing a similar function. Its place as part of the ritual of rural life in the community was discussed in the previous chapter, but it also played an important part in the life of the fifth Duke: forbidden to hunt or to ride himself, his interest in horses and riding could be satisfied vicariously by the development of racing at Goodwood.

1. Ibid.; D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, pp.96,127.

2. See table 22.

That Estate life remained of paramount importance, and that these sources of income cannot be seen as mere profit making enterprises is clear. When the demand for bricks exceeded the Estate's ability to produce the materials, a potential customer was informed that 'so many bricks are being used on the property that it is necessary to stop all sales for twelve months.', rather than taking on more workers and
1
increasing production to satisfy demand. The Racecourse too could have made a greater profit by running more than one race meeting in the year, but this was not done and Goodwood remained as a single meeting with its established place in the racing and social calendar.

This examination of the sources of the income of the Goodwood Estate has shown that agriculture and its traditional allied industries were those which provided the income at Goodwood. Surprisingly, the very fact that paternalism was built into the fabric of an estate, to its income and to all the relationships which were founded on it posed few problems in the mid century. The Goodwood evidence is not supportive of Mills's picture of estates at this time purely as capitalist enterprises, dependent on economies of scale, although it is possible that because of the intact nature of the social pyramid in Sussex, and the absence of industrial and urban centres to
2
force change, such movement was delayed at Goodwood.

There is evidence of a greater attention to matters of profit and loss on the Estate, and of the development of estate enterprises as separate industries, as Jones has
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suggested. From 1850, they were treated as separate for accounting purposes and, for

1. Goodwood ms E6104 Agent's Letterbook, R.Arras, Mar 11, 1853.
2. D. Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.27.
3. E.L. Jones, The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873, 1968, p.19.

the most part, the system of foremen and the labour forces were independent of each other. Perhaps the separation of each element contributed towards the avoidance of debt: the changes in accountancy procedures in the fifties meant that it would have been easier to identify and to isolate unprofitable elements. This attention to profit and loss received additional impetus from 1850 at Goodwood with the advent of new agents, and might be linked with the need for owners of great estates who had embraced the Protectionist philosophy to change their perspectives. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain a strict 'moving towards more purely economic relationships' as Mills suggests, since the inextricable linking of paternalism and estate management meant that there was still scope for individual negotiation, face¹ to face contact, concepts of duty and deferential elements.

Inherited wealth in the form of the Scottish lands and the selling of the French estates were significant in providing additional income, although in the case of the Scots lands they also involved additional paternalistic responsibilities.² In the absence of other detailed case studies, it is impossible to say whether this made Goodwood unusual. What is certain is the unusual role played by the Racecourse. Its significance in bringing together upper and lower class elements was pointed out in the previous chapter, but having investigated the estate finances, it is clear that the course was developed at the expense of other elements and that it did not produce substantial profits for many years. It was the Racecourse which was developed in the twenties, thirties and forties rather than the House, despite the fact that the outside of the House was never completed, and parts of the inside remained unfinished

1. D. Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.27.

2. D. Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, p.91; J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.206; F.M.L.Thompson, 'The End of a Great Estate', Ec.H.R. vol.8 ii 1955, p.38

until the late thirties. The decision was probably a wise one. Goodwood House was less than half finished as a building project, and the five sides of the projected octagon which were never built would have been expensive both to build and to maintain. The Racecourse gave Goodwood an identity which fulfilled a social function both locally and nationally.

The social functions of the Estate did not necessarily preclude economic efficiency, especially if the landowner retained the right to make short term individual arrangements for the sake of long term advantage. Key figures in this process were the agents: were there conflicts between the paternalistic framework as it had developed over a long period, and the requirements of the situation in the quarter century from 1850? It is important to examine the workings of the estate's management, and to know something of the agents who headed the structure. The following chapter will investigate the role of the Goodwood agents, their relationships with landlord and tenant, and some of the changes which took place in this aspect of estate management.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GODDWOOD AGENTS UNDER THE FIFTH DUKE OF RICHMOND

This chapter has two purposes: it attempts to trace the activities of the agents of the Goodwood Estate during the time of the fifth Duke, and it identifies change and development in the role of agent and the part played by management on the Estate during that period.

F.M.L.Thompson's work has done much to outline the contribution of agents as part of the increase in the management of estates in the period from 1820 to 1880 as they responded to pressure for change. This necessitated active management at a time when estates had ceased to be the major centres of wealth. Through their agents, landowners embarked upon what Thompson describes as 'constant interference and effective control' in the period when 'skill and capital were needed in order to meet¹ the difficulties and seize the opportunities of the agricultural situation.'. The co-operative nature of management at this time and the variety of responsibilities which had to be undertaken on great estates created a need for personnel who would be present when the landowner was elsewhere, and who were capable of leadership as well as carrying out the landlord's requirements. In this the agent had a vital role to play, but there was no standard pattern of an agent's duties and variation between any two estates is common at this time in terms of management styles. Thompson demonstrated how land agency grew towards maturity during this period as it became² more professionalised and the term 'steward' gradually gave way to 'agent'.

1. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, pp.175/7

2. Ibid. p.162.

Yet there are questions which need to be answered, for although Thompson's work provides a framework in which to consider the role of agents, he has concentrated on the product rather than the process, and has not included documentary evidence from the Sussex estates in his work. It may be true that the landlord took major decisions, but left the day to day running of the estate to the agent, and it may also be accurate to describe the supervision of agents by their employers as 'lightly observed', but the workings of an effective management structure which could fulfil both conditions have not been examined in detail. When the system did break down because of a dishonest agent, Thompson has shown that this could be a devastating experience for a landowner, who might be driven to becoming his own agent. Yet this was no permanent solution because of the growing importance of management and the character of the landed estate, which demanded that the landowner carry out political and social responsibilities as well as agricultural tasks. The process of the rebuilding of trust which was necessary after deception, and the safeguards which might be built in have not been examined, and Goodwood provides an opportunity to demonstrate how this was achieved and what changes were made.

Regional and other factors might also have a bearing on the operating of a management structure which merit consideration. The idiosyncratic nature of estates meant that they varied one from another and through time: Denman points to the importance in changes of ownership in changing the character of an estate, asking whether in reality it became a new estate with each change, and with each new agent too, an estate would modify its character. The administration of an estate of scattered

1. F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the 19th century*, 1963, p.95.
2. Denman D.R. *Estate Capital*, 1959, p.27.

lands was clearly very different from that which was compact and unbroken, and Mills suggests some consideration should be given to the use of the word 'estate' in this context: was it just loose administrative control with uniform accounting, or did the management attempt control in other ways? There is some evidence that such estates were more difficult to administer, and Kerr suggests that the crimes of Lord Shaftesbury's agent were partly concealed by the sprawling nature of the estate 'over heath, forest and downland', and it may also be significant that the Goodwood estate, which suffered from an agent who embezzled funds, also spread from the coast to the downs, and consisted of broken lands.

Holderness suggests there may also have been regional variations in how agents operated, and this is significant because agricultural change was often profoundly affected by these key figures in estate development. It would be wrong to suggest that all agents had total autonomy and management on individual estates varied from simple to more well developed structures by the mid century. Most of the work which has been done on agents takes the form of passing references in the studies of individual estates, and much of the work on agricultural change deals with landowners, tenant farmers and labourers, ignoring the contributions which agents made. Some individual agents who had significant effects on the estates they served are quoted: Susanna Wade Martins describes Blaikie's contribution at Holkham, Beastall refers to several of the agents on nineteenth century Lincolnshire estates and Havinden to the part played by Lord Wantage's agent in the implementation of his social philosophy. On the whole, however, most of them remain shadowy figures who

1. D. Mills Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.31.

2. B. Kerr, Bound to the Soil, 1968, p.206.

3. Ibid.

4. S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.71; T. Beastall, Agricultural Change in Lincolnshire, 1978, pp.88,94,95; M.A. Havinden, Estate Villages, 1966, pp. 80ff.

only intrude incidentally as personalities. Their very role as intermediaries means that their involvement was often to convey landlord instruction, to implement estate policy or convey requests from tenant to landlord: how much they were involved in the formulation of such policy is not clear, and the degree of autonomy each had clearly varied from one estate to another. At Goodwood, it is certain that the agent often carried the weight of responsibility and authority of the landlord.

During the period leading up to the mid century, the Goodwood agent was John Rusbridger, who had worked in this capacity since 1811 when he was appointed by the fourth Duke of Richmond, and was accustomed to running the Estate in the absence of¹ the landowner. This was true during the fourth Duke's absence as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then as special envoy in Belgium during the Waterloo campaign, and finally² as Governor General of Canada. When his son succeeded to the title in 1819, Rusbridger continued to act as agent, as the fifth Duke divided his time between Goodwood Estate business and an active career as an M.P. which included cabinet posts. From the mid thirties and the Duke's succession to his uncle's estates in north east Scotland, he began making regular trips to Gordon Castle, and took his³ involvement in Scottish agriculture seriously. As president of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland on more than one occasion, he made speeches, attended shows and meetings and spent much time away from Goodwood, leaving the⁴ Estate in the hands of Rusbridger. Involvement in the debate on the Corn Laws, acting as chairman for the Committee for Agricultural Protection took yet more time in the forties, and it was not until after Repeal that disappointment and ill health,

1. Goodwood ms 314, Letters to J. Rusbridger from Earl of March, Lord George Lennox, Lady Mary Lennox, 1811, 1812.

2. J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.47.

3. J. Mitchell, 'Dukes of Gordon' in Reminiscences of My Life in the Highlands, vol 2, 1884, 1971 edn. p.34.

4. J. Kent, op. cit. pp.76,77.

largely due to the shifting of the musket ball which he had carried within him since
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the Battle of Orthes, made him decide to spend more time at Goodwood. Given that the Duke had this kind of commitment to business elsewhere, it was essential him to have an agent to act for him at Goodwood, and for nearly forty years, Rusbridger held this important post. His pattern of operation was well established, but he only lived until 1850, so there was a relatively short period in which the Duke's increased time at Goodwood coincided with Rusbridger's holding of the position of agent.

Yet even by the mid century, there was no standard pattern of duties for agents, so it is hard to ascertain Rusbridger's efficiency, compared to that of other agents. Help may be found in contemporary writings, for agriculturists of the time fully recognised the importance of the agent's contribution to agricultural development. Caird provided a useful working definition of the function of agents and he identified four main areas of responsibility: the inspection of farms, a general intelligent supervision of the property, advice to the landlord on improvements and
2
help and advice to the tenants.

The first of these duties was highly significant, and Rusbridger certainly knew the farms and their tenants well. How frequently inspections or valuations were carried out is not clear: there are indications of valuations being carried out for specific purposes like the Commutation of Tithes Act. This project was begun towards the end of Rusbridger's life by John Stapley, a surveyor from Fareham in Hampshire, with

1. Ibid; Goodwood ms 314, Hampshire Telegraph, June 1st, 1850.
2. J. Caird, English Agriculture, 1850/1851, 1852, p.493.

Rusbridger acting as supervisor of the project. More usually, valuations took place upon the death or quitting of a tenant, and this provided a good opportunity to take stock of the situation. When Thomas Fogden, the tenant of Singleton farm, died in 1845, a complete valuation was made of the buildings, fields and their crops, and of the farmhouse and its contents, together with the following comments from Rusbridger himself: 'Old Farmhouse needs new windows, fence and other alterations. Farm buildings are old and inconveniently situated. Desirable not to spend money on them, but demolish and erect new barn and threshing floor.'

Curtis suggested that the letting of land was the most important duty of a land steward or agent, since this task was in effect the investment of the employer's capital, and a careful supervision of the property was essential if it was to produce an appropriate profit for the landlord's investment. Essential to the whole process was the agent's role as an intermediary, and Cox stressed the need for one since 'Direct communication between the owner and applicant for property is inexpedient for both.'

Despite the formal valuations, however, it is clear that Rusbridger gained much of his information from informal contact by dropping in casually on the farms, and by being available daily on the estate: reference is made to 'Mr Rusbridger's daily ride'.

The second duty mentioned by Caird was 'a general intelligent supervision of the property' and this obviously made demands on the agent's intelligence and initiative.

Stress on the character of the agent was not new: Marshall's handbook of 1806

1. Goodwood ms E5154, Farm Valuations 1851, with covering letter from John Stapley.
2. Goodwood ms E5149, Valuation of Singleton Farm, 1845.
3. C.E. Curtis, Estate Management, 1879, P.2.
4. A. Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853, p.18.
5. Goodwood ms E5104, May 29, 1846, Letter from William Bridger to J. Rusbridger.
6. J. Caird, English Agriculture, 1850/1851, 1852, p.493.

recommended that 'besides those qualifications for business, there is another important quality which a resident agent ought to possess. He should be a man of fair character, of upright principles and conciliatory manners.'¹ As Thompson has indicated, in the absence of 'any recognised source of men with both the relevant experience and unimpeachable character, it was natural that the second quality should be the essential qualification.'² In 1858, a letter to Sir John Acland recommended an agent who might manage properties for him. 'It is not so much because of his ability (of which I am well assured) as of his character that it seems to me he might be particularly valuable...For common sense, firmness and integrity, I do not think I know his equal...He is a gentleman and his wife a lady of good family...I suppose his age to be about six and thirty; he is an Oxford man.'³ Yet all this told little about his agricultural and managerial ability, and such reliance on personal contacts could lead to unsuitable appointments. This happened often enough for Dean to warn that disputes and bad farming would ensue for 'Landlords who appoint to the important post of land agent a relation or friend who is totally unfit to perform the duties of such office'⁴. Equally, such an appointment could be successful, as Havinden records was the case when Lord Wantage 'installed his old friend Colonel Colebrooke Carter as resident agent'⁵. Character was important, and personal knowledge was helpful, but neither was a guarantee that an individual would be a good agent.

During his daily ride on the property, Rusbridger made himself available to tenants to discuss problems to mediate in disputes and to listen to farmers talking about their farms. Probably many of the problems were sorted out at this stage, but should

1. W. Marshall, On the Management of Landed Estates, 1806, p.363
2. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.158
3. Acland ms, Devon C.R.O., 780, R. Herbert to J.D. Acland, Nov 29, 1858.
4. G.A.Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, Chapter 14.
5. M.A. Havinden, Estate Villages, 1966, p.80.

a letter prove necessary at a later stage, these preliminary discussions were often referred to. He was further available to tenants at the functions he regularly attended, such as the Chichester Cattle Market each Wednesday. Keeping in touch with what was going on was important, and Rusbridger's general availability on the property enabled him to make the most of rumour, gossip and his first hand knowledge of what was going on. Where formal reminders were necessary, these were sent: Thomas Cosens, the farmer of Felpham Farm, had to be reminded of his unfulfilled promise to clear out the ditch in 1850. Emily Huskisson of Seabeach Farm wrote referring to improvements which had been suggested to her 'by Mr Rusbridger', and after a long delay, she wrote to give notice to quit, and the agent's footnote to the Duke reminded him that her successor had already been chosen.

An 'intelligent supervision' suggests an informed understanding of the needs of the estate, and having a local man as agent could be a great advantage. In the absence of formal qualifications, other criteria were employed in the selection of land agents, for the whole area of land agency had yet to acquire professional status, and many estates adopted the practice of employing an agent who was a local man and a professional in another, related sphere. Havinden refers to the 'tradition of employing a solicitor from the local town' and as late as 1868, the bulk of estate management was in the hands of local solicitors, although Loudon suggests that the employment of attorneys as agents caused retardation of agriculture. Some estates employed a tenant farmer, but these were almost always small estates of fewer than 5,000 acres. In this, Goodwood was unusual, for Rusbridger was a tenant farmer,

1. Goodwood ms 1862/3 Correspondence of J. Rusbridger.
2. Goodwood ms E5104 Letter from J. Rusbridger to T. Cosens, Sept 5, 1849.
3. Goodwood ms E5104 Letter from E. Huskisson to J. Rusbridger Mar 20, 1849.
4. J. Caird, English Agriculture, 1850/1851, 1852, p.493.
5. M.A. Havinden, Estate Villages, 1966, p.80; J. Loudon An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture, 7th edn, 1871, p.1123.

working two Goodwood holdings in East Wittering on the rich coastal plain. He was certainly installed in his post as agent by the age of 23, and Rusbridger being a
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Sussex name, it seems likely that he was a local man. Whether he can be said to have been the kind of agent recommended by Mechi, who wrote that 'a man should be born on the property to understand it' is uncertain, but his local knowledge, built up over 39 years in the job must have been valuable at Goodwood, with its varying types of
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soil and different farming problems.

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Third, Caird listed advising the landlord on improvements. This necessitated some theoretical knowledge, and an awareness of developments, together with the practical implications of their implementation. Since there was no training or standard of education for agents, there were various sources from which new techniques and skills could be learned. In some cases, the agent would have spent some time working as an assistant in the office of some other estate, before moving on to a post as controlling agent, but how widespread this practice was is not certain. Rusbridger had at least one clerk who worked in the office, and it may be that he himself had
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worked with the previous agent before 1811.

It is true that at the beginning of the century, the role and influence of the agent had been underestimated, and such factors as his education were no cause for concern.

Only two pages in Young's report of 1808 were devoted to management: agents were referred to briefly, and are not quoted as relevant to improvement, this being the
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province of the landowner. By the mid century, writers like Caird were warning of

1. Goodwood ms 314, Letters from Lord George Lennox and Earl of March to J. Rusbridger, 1811, 1812.
2. J.J. Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 1857, p.221.
3. J. Caird, English Agriculture, 1850-1851, 1852, p.493.
4. Goodwood ms 1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to Rev. J.Rusbridger, Oct 29, 1850.
5. A. Young, A General View of the Agriculture of Sussex, 1813, pp.23/4.

the dangers of a landlord who improved his land but exacted no such energy from his
¹
 tenants. With such an end in view, an agent was essential, assuming the landlord
 followed the pattern of many in England and had interests - Parliamentary, industrial
 and other - which would take him away from the estate. An energetic and efficient
 landlord with reactionary and inefficient tenants - such as the Duke of Cleveland had
²
 - was bound to fail.

It seems that the contemporary debate over agents has not been fully reflected in the
 attention historians have paid them, but similar neglect of the agent role was
 evident at the start of the nineteenth century. At that time, even books which did
 mention agents disagreed as to their role. Marshall's handbook of 1806 mentioned
 full time agents, but he placed stress on their practical techniques such as
 surveying, mechanics and engineering, natural history and accounts, together with
 upright principles and a fair character, and that knowledge of agricultural matters
³
 could be picked up 'in the course of doing the job.'. Such abilities and practical
 skills demanded a high level of education as well as practical experience on an
 estate and the problems of reaching agents and other professional men was achieving
 more importance in the fifties and sixties. Articles which appeared in the Journal
of the Royal Agricultural Society, such as those by Evans and Vallentine, show the
⁴
 concern which was felt. Rev. Lewis Evans referred to 'the problems of education as a
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 means of spreading agricultural progress through the middle classes'. He referred
 to Cirencester (opened in 1845) and praised the advanced nature of the courses, but

1. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1880, p.109.
2. J. Caird, High Farming Under Liberal Covenants, 1849.
3. W. Marshall, On the Management of Landed Estates, 1806, p.362.
4. L. Evans, 'Middle Class Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools', J.R.A.S.E. ser.2, vol.2, 1866; R. Vallentine, 'On Middle Class Education, Having Reference to the Improvement of the Education of those who depend upon the cultivation of the soil', J.R.A.S.E. ser.2, vol.2, 1866.
5. L. Evans, 'Middle Class Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools', J.R.A.S.E. ser.2, vol. 2, 1866.

pointed to the high fees, which must have prevented many from taking advantage of the College's courses. Experimental schools were described with enthusiasm: Prince Albert's School in Suffolk, the experimental school in South Molton, and the Surrey Agricultural School for example, but these were too few, for the scale of the problem was considerable: Vallentine estimated that some 12,000 new farmers would be needed per 40,000 farms, and expressed concern as to where knowledgeable men could be found¹ to fill the vacancies. The experimental schools could not possibly meet such a great need; the National schools were unsuitable and the Public School curriculum was too classically based, and altogether lacking in the necessary practical skills. English farmers were criticised for their lack of support for the Royal Agricultural Society - a body which could be useful in the dissemination of ideas and information about farming - and saw the annual meetings as important factors in the education of those who made up the middle stratum of estate society.² The R.A.S. was praised for having 'exhibited to a class of men not generally given to migrating far from home the best stock of every description with a wonderful display of implements - demonstrations far more influential in the minds of farmers generally than any descriptions in print.'³ In 1852, when the show was held in Sussex, the Journal declared itself satisfied with the 'steady, satisfactory progress which was observable in nearly all classes of implements from the costly steam engine down to the 3/6d digging fork.'⁴

Rusbridger's interest in agricultural improvement is shown by the fact that he attended both local and national agricultural society meetings, and the Goodwood animals and produce were exhibited at local, regional and national levels. Since much of the interchange between the Duke and his agent was verbal however, it is hard

1. R. Vallentine, 'On Middle Class Education, Having Reference to the Improvement of the Education of those who depend upon the cultivation of the soil', J.R.A.S.E. ser.2, vol.2, 1866.

2. Ibid.

3. C. Lawrence, 'The Royal Agricultural College of Cirencester', J.R.A.S.E. ser.2, vol. 1, 1865.

4. H.S. Thompson, 'Report on R.A.S. in Lewes', J.R.A.S.E., vol. 13, 1852, p.302.

to know how much advice Rusbridger was able to give, who the initiator was, and whether there were long term plans for improvement which landlord and agent had formulated and were working to.

Certainly one of Rusbridger's tasks was to investigate the cost of projected alterations and improvements suggested by landlord and tenant. Estimated costs were considered carefully by Richmond, who authorised and signed requisitions himself. The suggested repairs to Lavant House in 1847 were carefully detailed, and were to cost £446.¹ Costs of the erection of a steam engine at Westhampnett Mill needed careful consideration; the engine would cost £500, and the shed £200.² Interest on this £700 would be £50 per annum, and the projected running costs were estimated on the basis of figures which Rusbridger obtained from Messrs Henty who had installed a similar engine in Halnaker Mill at a cost of £60-£70 per annum.³ On the acquisition of land, he also made enquiries: the Easthampnett Estate was offered for sale in 1847, and Rusbridger provided information on the area of land, number of houses, owners and so on.⁴ Sometimes this sort of work had to remain confidential - a letter from Richmond in 1845 instructed Rusbridger to investigate the interest of a Mrs Dorrien, which the Duke intended to buy, but he stressed that the researches must be carried out in secret before any public interest was declared.⁵ The agent was thus in a position of trust, and presumably had enough contacts to enable him to carry out the investigation without arousing suspicion.

A significant part of his advice on improvements must have been the deployment of

1. Goodwood ms E5069 Estimate of repairs, 1847.

2. Goodwood ms 1863, Letter from J. Rusbridger to Duke of Richmond with estimate of costs, Aug 26, 1838.

3. Ibid.

4. Goodwood ms E5069, details of Easthampnett Estate, 1847.

5. Goodwood ms E5104, letter to J. Rusbridger from Duke of Richmond, Apr 20, 1823.

Estate personnel. Tenants who had shown energetic management on poor quality farms might be offered better ones, and likely tenants who were reliable were kept in mind in case tenancies became vacant through quitting or death. The speed with which a replacement was found for Emily Huskisson is a good example.

The final duty listed by Caird was that of offering help and advice to tenants. Much of this will have been verbal, although there are a few letters extant. Requests for delay in paying rent are not uncommon, and it seems that Rusbridger, like other agents, did not adhere strictly to deadlines for the payment of rent. Extensions could be granted or part payments accepted as part of an understanding of the problems of a poor harvest, local marketing difficulties or the peculiarities of the weather could inflict on a community. This gave the agent something of a paternalistic role in supporting the landlord's responsibility for cushioning the tenants in times of distress. This aspect of the role accords closely with the carrying out of the landlord's philosophy of paternalism described in Chapter Three, and it was important that the agent should have a clear understanding of how much leeway the landlord would be willing to let the tenants have.

Frequently tenants of the estate asked Rusbridger to mediate in their disputes. Marshall stressed the need for the agent 'to set a good example of good conduct to the tenants, and to become their common counsellor and peacemaker in these trifling disputes which never fail to arise among the occupiers of adjoining lands.', and an area which was particularly sensitive in this respect was where one tenant felt that

1. Goodwood ms E5104, Letter to J.Rusbridger from E. Huskisson with comment from J.Rusbridger Mar 20, 1849.

2. J. Caird, English Agriculture, 1850/1851, 1852, p.493.

another was infringing the rights of his tenancy. The new vicar of Singleton moved into one of a pair of cottages in 1847 to find that the tenant of the adjoining
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cottage was claiming the entire garden. The neighbour took in lodgers during race week, and the party spent much time drinking, smoking and making a great deal of noise. The problem took some time to resolve, and the tenants refused to deal directly with one another, so the agent acted as mediator. Trespass, the wrong siting of a privy, pigstyes erected in the wrong place by a neighbour - no problem
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was too trivial for the agent to be called in. Also within the agent's orbit was the administering of paternalistic relief of one kind or another: sending for the doctor, asking the Duke for allowances, recommending tenants who should be helped and so on could be picked up by the agent because of his local knowledge and availability on
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the estate.

In terms of Caird's definition then, Rusbridger seems to have been fairly typical as an agent. However, the definition was written at a time when the methods of agency were not standardised, and there was no training for the job. Coupled with the demands of each estate and every landowner, there were in reality as many definitions as there were agents.

One aspect of the agent's work not mentioned by Caird was the keeping of accounts and other records. The growing importance of this can be seen in Marshall's handbook which went through four editions in twenty years. In the first edition, accounts
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merit a brief mention, and this was extended to two pages in the second edition. The

1. W. Marshall, On the Management of Landed Estates, 1806, p.363
2. Goodwood ms E5109, Letter to J. Rusbridger from Rev. Bowles, 1847.
3. Goodwood ms E5108, Letter from W. Bridger to J. Rusbridger, 1848.
4. Goodwood ms 1862 Letter from Rusbridger to the Fifth Duke of Richmond, 30 Aug, 1839.
5. W. Marshall, *Ibid*.

general advice contained therein consisted of a warning not to keep accounts which were too detailed, since this would take much time and effort, and it was stressed that the business of agriculture was essentially practical, leaving little time for¹ book-keeping. It was pointed out too, that a farmer's word was his bond. The shift from informality to formal arrangements can be seen here for, by the fourth edition, accountancy merited a whole chapter to itself, and it was stressed that every detail of each transaction should be written down for the benefit of both agent and employer. There had been examples of agents who had misused their employer's funds, and for their own protection, Marshall advised agents to keep detailed records of² anything which involved the employer's money. These financial responsibilities reflect the degree of trust vested in the agent: auditing was still not universally carried out, and although the Duke's secretary signed the accounts each year,³ Rusbridger was, in effect, in sole charge of finances.

In times of stress, the agent had to see that economies were carried out. Despite considerable spending on the Racecourse, small extravagances elsewhere were pounced on: it was Rusbridger who had to tell the Duke's coachman that he could no longer have a new pair of boots and spurs each year, and it was Rusbridger who wrote to the⁴ Duchess asking her to economise and be sure to adhere to the scale of reduced wages.

Further evidence of Rusbridger's status can be seen in the value placed on his opinions on various matters while the Duke was absent. The regular communications he sent to Richmond included details of local events, or the local implications of

1. W. Marshall, On the Management of Landed Estates, 1st edn, 1806, pp.417, 423; Goodwood ms E5069, 1845

3. Ibid, 4th edn,

4. Ibid, 4th edn.

5. Goodwood ms E5270-89, General Ledgers, vols covering 1818-1850.

1. Goodwood ms 1862 Letter from J. Rusbridger to the Fifth Duchess of Richmond, Jan 21, Apr 28, 1834.

national happenings. Sometimes these consisted of factual reports - such as the severe hail which affected the wheat in July 1839, or the fire which destroyed a¹ house on East Wittering Farm 'thought to be the work of a mad incendiary'. At other times, he gave his opinion: the report on the Chartist meeting in 1839 assured the Duke that Rusbridger did not think there was anything to worry about 'in this area,² men are contented and work early and late and are fully employed with the Harvest'. In 1835, he reported on a meeting at Petworth which aimed to form a Conservative Society. A candidate was selected at the meeting, and Rusbridger was of the opinion that he would be returned at the next election, and advised the Duke to put a great³ deal of work into his campaign for his own candidate.' Rusbridger also commented on the likely effect in the local area of acts of Parliament and on the interpretation of legal details. This familiarity with legal terminology suggests that he may have had some training for the law, but there is no evidence for this, and it could be⁴ that he was passing on the advice given to him by the Duke's solicitors. Other agents performed a similar advisory function: the Cowdray agent, Alexander Browne, wrote to Lord Egmont to comment on the Landlords and Tenants Bill in 1844, suggesting that 'it is good for poor landlords and on settled estates', and referred to his own practice that he had 'often had occasion to act upon its provisions in my practice⁵ with more liberality than it allows.'. A summary of its likely effects on the Cowdray Estate followed, culminating in the reassurance that 'On the whole, I see nothing objectionable in the Bill to well managed estates, and much that is usefull⁶ to both Landlord and tenant.'.

1. Goodwood ms 1862, Letter from Rusbridger to the Fifth Duke of Richmond, Aug 17, 1833.
2. Goodwood ms 1862, Letter from Rusbridger to the Fifth Duke of Richmond, 1838.
3. Goodwood ms 1863 Letter from J. Rusbridger to Richmond, Aug 15, 1839.
4. Goodwood ms E5069, Extract from Blackstone's Commentary 1845 on definition of commons or pasture, N.D..
5. Cowdray ms 1905, Letter from A. Brown to Lord Egmont, 15 Mar, 1844.
6. Ibid.

In common with other agents in their local areas, Rusbridger took part in the lower levels of local government on the Parish Vestry and in the Poor Law Union. Again, this may be seen as closely related to the landlord's paternalistic responsibilities referred to earlier, and in representing the Duke, his agent was 'to act for me in all respects as if I myself were present...Richmond.'¹ In some ways, this indicated a high degree of trust vested in the agent, but it was trust without autonomy if the agent was genuinely to act as the landlord would have done, and to report back to him afterwards. It was not always straightforward to have the agent acting as the Duke's alternate, however. The Westhampnett Workhouse was owned by the Duke, and Rusbridger acted as his representative at meetings of the Guardians. At several crisis points, he suggested that the Duke himself should attend, such as when the Guardians² suggested that they should buy the Workhouse from the Duke, for example. To comply with the law which required that paupers should be classified, the House had to be altered, and the changes were to cost £1,500. A new workhouse would cost £5,000. When the proposal to buy the workhouse was defeated, it was suggested that the Duke should pay for a new one, or for the alterations, and Rusbridger felt he was unable to control the way the discussion was going. He asked the Duke to attend the next meeting in person, but again Richmond refused. In the end, the proposal was defeated, and the Board of Guardians under its new Chairman, John Rusbridger, continued to³ lease the Workhouse from the Duke. These incidents indicate that paternalism without face to face contact between landowner and others was less than satisfactory, and suggest that perhaps the Guardians were less than convinced that Rusbridger really

1. Goodwood ms E5069, Commutation of Tithes Act, Power of Attorney, 1844.

2. Goodwood ms 1863, Letter from J. Rusbridger to Richmond, Apr 19, 1835.

3. Goodwood ms 1863 Letter from J. Rusbridger to Richmond, Apr 20, 1835.

was acting as Richmond would have done. It is impossible to prove whether they would have acted in the same way, had Richmond been present, but raises suspicions that paternalism once removed was not working.

In many ways, Rusbridger was typical of an agent employed on a large estate. He displayed many of the characteristics of the agent of a large estate; his powers were considerable, and although he kept the Duke informed, he had scope for individual action. His duties included those listed by Caird, but went beyond them, and his position was that of a trusted and influential member of the estate staff. For the most part, he seems to have carried out his duties efficiently and conscientiously, but there were some differences between the situation at Goodwood and that found elsewhere. It was more characteristic of a medium estate (5-10,000 acres), to employ an agent who was also a tenant farmer, and the 17,000 acres of Goodwood place it outside this category. However, it is important to realise that Rusbridger had been agent for 24 years before he took on his farm, and was an agent who took to farming, rather than a tenant who was appointed as agent. In addition, his annual salary was modest - £250 plus a house at Goodwood in 1818, which had increased to £300 by 1850. A wide range of salaries were paid to agents on different estates, and they were given a variety of responsibilities. Lord Vernon's agency post carried a salary of £500 in 1858, but Sir Maurice Sopes only paid £150, and household expenses had to be taken out of that. The Duke of Bedford's agent earned £800 as well as being provided with a house, and even taking these variations into account, Rusbridger's salary does seem to have been modest for an estate of the size of Goodwood.

1. J. Caird, English Agriculture, 1850/1851, 1852, p.493.

2. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.153, 161.

3. Goodwood ms E5427-89, General Ledgers, vols covering 1818-1850.

4. Goodwood ms E5270, General Ledger, 1817-1843; 1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair.

5. F.M.L.Thompson, op.cit., p.167.

6. Acland ms, Devon C.R.O. 841, J. Baker to J.D.Acland, Dec. 1858.

In some ways, his practice too indicates that he was not an agent of the first rank: he did have some shortcomings in his professional dealings with tenants and with others outside the estate, and there are indications that by the time of his death, his style of operation was not equal to the new approach which was demanded of an agent in his situation. Disputes over the hiring of a Goodwood ram in 1845 show that no written agreement had been made, and when the hirer refused to pay the agreed sum afterwards, saying that the ram was not worth the sum originally agreed upon, a long
¹ wrangle ensued. A series of letters in the late 1840s regarding the Manor of Brimfast and Fishers, held by the Duke under Eton College, shows that Rusbridger was
² repeatedly late in answering letters, the delays sometimes running into months. He was slow to get surveys done when requested, and frequently late in paying rents on
³ the Duke's behalf. William Bridger, barrister, magistrate and recorder for Chichester threw some light on the problem when he complained to Rusbridger 'May I beg you to let your communications be in writing. That is the way to do business-
⁴ messages and verbal communications admit of so many frustrations; so much is forgotten, and sometimes inaccurately supplied that no dependence can in general be placed upon them. I intend to give you but very little trouble, but two year have now elapsed since I received the first communication from the Duke, I think it is quite time that we should understand each other.'

A similar problem is indicated in the correspondence of the Rev. Bowles of Singleton, where the vicar wrote 18 letters, asked several times for appointments and made many fruitless journeys to see Rusbridger before he managed to produce any response, and

1. Goodwood ms E5104, Letter from J. Rusbridger to Mr Heavy, 1845, Dec 4, 1836.
2. Goodwood ms E5106, Correspondence between J. Rusbridger and G. Bethell, 1840/3
3. Ibid. 1845/6/8.
4. E5107, Correspondence between John Rusbridger and William Bridger

1

this was only achieved by Bowles writing directly to the Duke himself. It seems that Rusbridger found it difficult to make the change from verbal interchange - which had been appropriate in the early days of his agency and was succesful with the tenants- to the increased emphasis on writing and documentation which grew as the century progressed.

Towards the end of his life, there were complaints from the Duke's brothers that Rusbridger was mismanaging affairs, and that some sums of money were disappearing.² The question seems to have been ignored by the Duke until the summer of 1849 when he took the unusual step of checking the accounts himself.³ His secretary, Dr Hair, usually checked the accounts and recorded 'I have, this day, examined the foregoing account and the vouchers produced to verify the same, which appear to be correct, and find the balance to be £3,542/10/8 ...Arch. Hair.', and the 1849 report has an additional memo 'The above examination was made in the presence of His Grace, A.H.'.⁴

Such lack of professional auditing was not unusual, (although on the nearby Cowdray Estate, regular auditing was carried out), indeed, Thompson suggests that any growth in the agent's role was bound to diminish such supervisory powers as auditors might have, and in 1854, Henry Drummond, a friend of Earl Fitzwilliam could still say that 'Noblemen with Auditors are only heard of in Utopia, but not in Great Britain.'⁵ Financial problems ensued at Goodwood, however, and later in 1849, concerned by the lack of capital available, the Duke wrote to Dr Hair from Gordon Castle 'I intend to ask Rusbridger as soon as I return. He will no doubt plead lack of rents.'⁶ What happened on his return is not recorded, and Rusbridger died the following May.

1. Goodwood ms E5109 Letter to J. Rusbridger from Rev. Bowles.
2. Goodwood ms 1863, Letter from J. Rusbridger to Richmond Feb 20, 1838.
3. Goodwood ms E5270-89, General Ledgers, vol.1844-60.
4. Ibid.
5. Quoted in F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.167.
6. Goodwood ms 1861, Letter from Duke of Richmond to Dr. Hair, August 1st, 1849.

Within a week, the Duke had written to Gordon Castle, asking E. Wagstaff to travel south and check the Goodwood accounts. This need not indicate real suspicion on the Duke's part at this time: indeed, he wrote to Dr Hair at this time 'I never for a moment doubted Rusbridger's honesty.'¹ Richmond was already committed to spend that summer in Scotland, and by August 27th, the Sussex Advertiser reports his presence as President at the annual meeting of the Royal Northern Agricultural Society in Aberdeen.² Dr Hair joined him there, and Wagstaff sent reports on his progress with the accounts, giving details and recommendations, many of which were to be used in the restructuring of affairs. Inevitably, this process involved the evaluation and criticism of Rusbridger's methods.

By the middle of August, Wagstaff suggested that the arrangements regarding the Racecourse had caused confusion. Previously, jockeys and trainers had paid admission like everyone else, and had claimed it back. This practice had 'hitherto caused much trouble', and further problems were caused by the receipts for 1859 which, 'in the general opinion of the money takers was that the receipts were not more this year than last', and yet the balance for 1850 was £2149/18/3, compared with £1285/8/10d for 1849, leaving a difference of over £864.³ Enquiries had to be made of the Duke whether Rusbridger had handed him any money personally, which might have been omitted from the accounts, but this having been ascertained, the mystery remained.⁴ Wagstaff's opinion of the method of keeping financial records adopted by Rusbridger was 'not such as to discover Error without enormous trouble, if at all.'⁵ This was not unusual in such cases: Kerr reports how confusion was caused by the Earl of Shaftesbury's agent because 'Waters' system of book-keeping was unusual.'⁶ The

1. Goodwood ms 1861, Letters from Duke of Richmond to Dr Hair, June 6, 1850.

2. Sussex Advertiser Aug 27, 1850.

3. Goodwood ms 1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair, Aug 20, 1850.

4. Ibid.

5. Goodwood ms 1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair, Aug. 26, 1850.

6. B. Kerr, Bound to the Soil, 1968, p.210.

solicitor could not understand them: accounts were sent late, and because of the system, there was no easy means of checking their accuracy, and the auditing was put off for many years because of this. The deferring of such intervention could be costly: Thompson has shown how the crimes and neglect of Iveson, the Savernake steward led to a complex network of problems, and the neglect of estate management

1

resulted ultimately in heavy repair bills.

Wagstaff showed more determination than this, and with so much unexplained, decided to investigate the farm pay books for the previous 20 years, and the general cash

2

books back to 1836. By mid-September, he was able to write to Rusbridger's son, stating that he had found a series of improper entries 'viz. delaying one day and throwing the sum into the following year, by which the accountant appears to be

3

£847/15/0 less in debt to the Duke than he really is'. Further question marks hang over the prices entered for livestock 'Mr bayly seems to be quite sure that £12 per head for such beasts is really quite out of the question' and charges for expenses

4

which could not be accounted for were found. The balance was summed up by Wagstaff as follows:

'Mr R.	To cash book	£5698/9/2	
	By bank a/c		£2752/4/0
By cat. of 30 cheques			£ 261/8/8
Balance due by Mr R.s estate...			£2909/16/6
	TOTAL	£5698/9/2	£5698/9/2'

1. F.M.L. Thompson, 'English Landownership: The Ailesbury Trust, Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol X1 no.1, 1958, p.125; Goodwood Papers 1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair, Sept.17, 1850.

2. Ibid. Sept 1850.

3. Ibid. Aug 26, 1850.

4. Ibid.

Rusbridger's widow and one of his sons, the Vicar of Amberley, refused to accept Wagstaff's claims, and insisted that the Duke himself should deal with the matter.

'Well, if the Duke will write with his own hand that this is an unjust and
¹extravagant claim, I will give it up.'. The other son, however, accepted Wagstaff's findings, and asked that the whole matter should be settled as speedily as possible.

Acting through Dr Hair, Richmond directed that Rev. Rusbridger should check the books for himself, but this had little effect on the son, who still protested his father's innocence, despite further sums being questioned - regular insurance payments being
²made against the name of Lord March; a cheque to William Bayly for £125 and so on.

Suspicion increased when Rusbridger's will was proved at £15,000, and Wagstaff continued to write to the Duke giving the details. 'How could he on £250 a year, living as he did, make £15,000 honestly? I said perhaps his father left him a good
³deal. R.R. (said) "Not a rap" and Rusbridger said he lost by his farm.'. The circumstantial evidence against Rusbridger is strengthened by the memoirs of E.B.Ellman, who describes how he was at Oxford with Rev. John Rusbridger whose rooms
⁴were 'very expensively furnished'. It seems surprising that the son of an agent whose father left him nothing and who lost money on his tenanted farm could live in such surroundings at university, although this fact was not included in any of the material which survives, and was only included as a passing remark in Ellman's book, published in 1912.

The final calculations of the balance due by Rusbridger's estate to the Duke was £3547/9/6 - a considerable sum, equal to three times the gross income from the Home

1. Goodwood ms 1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to Dr Hair, Oct 9, 1850.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. J.B. Ellman, Recollections of a Sussex Parson, 1912, p.103.

Farm, or twice the gross income from the Racecourse in that year, and even when the money was repaid to the Duke, the Estate had clearly been losing for some time, and had lost perhaps ten or twenty years of investment into estate improvement.

The Duke's reaction to Wagstaff was one of irritation at his manner, although the figures and Wagstaff's efficiency were never in question. At Gordon Castle in 1845, the Wagstaff family had experienced a similar situation themselves, when William Wagstaff had got into difficulty with the financial affairs, and his brother Edward¹ was sent for to straighten them out. The balance against William Wagstaff was described as being 'upwards of £2,300', although proving the loss was difficult, and when William disappeared, and his father refused to resign, the Gordon Castle agent suggested that as he certainly had enough to do looking after the Duchess of Gordon's² business, Wagstaff might be left to manage the Duchess's personal affairs. It was the same Edward Wagstaff who was sent to Goodwood to sort matters out. Having coped with such a situation when his own family was involved, it was not likely that he would be less diligent when he was less personally involved. The Duke's irritation was caused by the gossip, rumour, anonymous information, irrelevant information, and must have pained Richmond, who cannot have enjoyed the fact that many of the local people must have known that his agent was taking money from him. This was the ultimate affront to the paternalist, for Rusbridger had been a man whom the Duke had trusted and known since they were both in their twenties, and this must have made things even worse. His own opinion changed in his letters to Dr Hair from 'I never doubted Rusbridger's honesty' in June 1850 to 'I believe Mr R. placed my money to his

1. Goodwood ms 1688, Letter from T.Balmer Senior to Richmond, March 6, 1845.

2. Goodwood ms, 1688, Letter from T.Balmer Senior to Richmond, April 17, 1845.

1
own account' in November. Having remained silent until this time, the Duke finally
instructed Dr Hair to write, telling Wagstaff to ignore all pleas and to settle the
2
matter as quickly as possible. Payment was only made by Rusbridger's executors after
legal proceedings were threatened by Freeland and Raper, the Duke's solicitors, and
by the end of December, Wagstaff had returned to Scotland, and the Duke and Dr Hair
3
timed their return to Goodwood to arrive just after Wagstaff had left for the north.

Rusbridger's contribution to the Estate is a hard one to summarise. For the early
Victorian period, his style was probably appropriate, dealing as he did in verbal
interchange and close face to face contact on an Estate which he knew, and with
tenants and labourers who were prepared to move at his pace. Towards the end of his
life, however, there are indications that this approach was proving inadequate to
meet the demands of the new, middle class element with whom he had to deal. The
growing demand for documentation, adherence to deadlines, and routines other than
those of the agricultural year did not suit Rusbridger's style of operation, and his
approach tended to be paternalistic in that it saw the pace at which estate life
moved and the priorities of the estate as being those into which everyone else must
fit. By the mid century, a different approach was needed, and with the thorough
overhaul of accounts which took place, recommendations for improvements to accounting
systems, the valuations of all farms under the Commutation of Tithes Act, a new
direction was needed, and a fresh approach to the agent's job desirable.

1. Goodwood ms 1861, Letter from Duke of Richmond to Dr Hair, Nov. 28, 1850.
2. Goodwood ms 1743, Letter from Dr Hair to E. Wagstaff, Nov. 9, 1850.
3. Goodwood ms 1743, Letter from E. Wagstaff to Dr Hair, Nov. 18, 1850.

The new agent chosen to succeed Rusbridger was Thomas Balmer, a 27 year old unmarried
¹
 Scot. His Scots origins are not at all surprising: many agents of this time came
 from north of the border, and this is partly an indication of the state of Scottish
 agriculture. Even in the 18th century, Lord Drlaval's Doddington estates in
 Lincolnshire were 'left to the care of a Scots steward', although some still
 harboured doubts on nationalistic grounds, of which Jane Austen was aware, for Emma
 Woodhouse asked Mr Knightley '... about your friend Mr Graham's intention to have a
 bailiff from Scotland to look after his new estate. But will it answer? Will not
²
 the old prejudice be too strong?'. As the nineteenth century progressed, however,
 the reputation of the Scots for such posts grew. John Yule, agent to Sir James
 Graham, Ralph Sneyd's agent, Andrew Thompson, and Francis Blaikie, agent on the
 Holkham Estate, were all lowland Scots, as was John Matthew, whom Caird recommended
³
 to Sir Robert Peel. Nor was Goodwood alone among southern estates - John Veitch,
⁴
 agent to Sir Thomas Acland was also a Scot. The Scots had a reputation for
 practical experience rather than paper qualifications. Caird pointed to Scottish
 landlords' enthusiasm for improvement because they were better educated, more
 understanding about land improvements, and they had a much better knowledge of
⁵
 landowning as a business - invaluable for aspects of management. The Principal of
 the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester compared the Scots with the moribund,
 classically dominated middle class education of England, and concluded that 'The
⁶
 majority of Scotch farmers are keenly alive to the value of scientific knowledge.
 Still, it seems likely that Balmer had more to recommend him to the Duke of Richmond
 than his nationality, since the Gordon Castle agent was also called Thomas Balmer,

1. Census Returns, Westhampnett District, 1851.

2. T. Beastall, Agricultural Change in Lincolnshire, 1978, pp.88,94,95; J. Austen, Emma, 1816, p.97.

3. S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980. p.81.

4. A.Acland, A Devon Family, 1981, pp.22,23,27.

5. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1878, p.98.

6. J. Coleman, Practice With Science: A Series of Agricultural Papers, 1867, p.3.

and the signature 'Thomas Balmer Jr., agent to the Duke of Richmond' in April 1851¹ confirms that this was his son. Despite the personal knowledge the Duke had of him, the appointment was similar to one Thompson described as 'an unmistakeably professional land agent; neither a successful farmer, nor a solicitor, nor a retired army officer, nor a younger son of a gentleman with good connections and claims to patronage, he was the plain son of a Scottish tenant farmer'.² Balmer's father had also been a tenant farmer in the south of Scotland, and Thomas Balmer Jr. had the additional advantage of his father's post as Gordon Castle agent, and of being known by the Richmond family.³ Thomas Balmer Sr. was already well known for his understanding of agricultural matters: Mitchell described him as 'an eminent agriculturist' on whose advice whole properties were rearranged or rebuilt, drains, fences and plantations were formed 'and everything put in complete agricultural order'.⁴ Thomas Balmer Jr. retained his links with Scotland: his father still lived there and he visited him occasionally, and made use of his contacts north of the border in various ways.⁵

His first letter, dated December 20th, 1850, displayed a competence and clear grasp of priorities. He began by deciding to maximise one of the Estate's enterprises by inaugurating the Goodwood underwood sales in the village of East Dean in December 1850, and announced that henceforth this would be an annual event. One of his⁶

1. Goodwood ms, E6103, Agent's Letter Book, April 1851.
2. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.156.
3. Goodwood ms 1688, Letter from T. Balmer Senior to Duke of Richmond, Mar 31, 1845.
4. J. Mitchell, 'Dukes of Gordon' in Reminiscences of My Life in the Highlands, vol.2, 1884, 1971 edn. p.34.
5. Goodwood ms, E6103, Agent's Letter Book T. Balmer to Messrs Scott Sinclair, Greenock, Apr 11, 1851; T. Balmer to Millwright in Tweedsmouth, May 5, 1851; T. Balmer to Messrs Murdoch Aitken and Co, Glasgow.
6. Ibid. Dec 20, 1850.

priorities was concerned with mechanisation, and an early letter to a firm in
¹
Greenock requests details of steam engines. Responsibility for the erection of the
²
engine was given to another firm in the north, this time from Tweedsmouth. In some
ways, these dealings with firms so far away proved unsatisfactory, and were to
present problems for the Estate. Two engines were purchased, one with a 12. h.p.
engine to drive the saw mill and another smaller engine to cope with the flour mill.
Initially the latter was intended only as a back-up to the water power which drove
the mill for most of the year, but Balmer was concerned that if the water ceased to
flow in the summer months, production had to stop. This may have seemed to be a
priority in 1850 as, in the previous year, the summer had been fine and warm 'August
³
being particularly dry'. The back-up engine was intended to enable work to
continue, regardless of weather conditions. The engines were installed, but the
frustration generated by the lack of local expertise was clear when, in the spring of
⁴
1853, engine parts had to be sent to London. Despite letters in January asking to
see the engineer, the engine was left unrepaired until May when Arras wrote to Balmer
in Scotland that the repairs must be done 'as there is such a waste of fuel and
⁵
steam.' In early June, the engineer travelled down from London but reported that
the cylinder must be rebored 'it is vey bad and this necessitated its being sent to
London.'. Despite Balmer's stress that speed was essential because until the engine
was working again 'it will throw a large number of carpenters and bricklayers out of
work', progress was slow and unsatisfactory. The sequence of subsequent events
⁶
illustrates the problem.

1. Goodwood ms, E6103, Agent's Letter Book T. Balmer to Messrs Scott Sinclair, Greenock, Apr 11, 1851.
2. Ibid. T. Balmer to Millwright in Tweedsmouth, May 5, 1851.
3. Ibid. T. Balmer to Millwright in Tweedsmouth, May 5, 1851; T. Balmer to Messrs Scott Sinclair, Greenock, Apr 11, 1851.; J.M. Stratton, Agricultural Records p. 109, 2nd edn. 1978.
4. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, Letter from T. Balmer, April 1853.
5. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, Letter from T. Balmer Jan. 6th, 1853; from R. Arras to T. Balmer, May 1853.
6. Ibid. R. Arras to T. Balmer, June 3rd and June 4th.

A letter dated June 4th, 1853 describes how the engine parts had previously been sent to London, and Balmer wrote to request speedy action, but three days later, he wrote¹ again, having had no reply. On June 8th, Balmer wrote yet again to say that although he had received a reply stating that the engine parts had been despatched, these had not arrived. On the following day, the feed pipe arrived from London, but² Balmer had to complain that nothing had been done to it. The firm must have written to promise that the cylinder for the engine was on its way to Goodwood, for further complaint on June 13th states that the cylinder did not arrive at the station as had³ been promised. When the engine was finally reassembled and started, the vibration⁴ was so great that further repairs would have to be carried out. Six months after his first letter the engine was still not working properly and, in addition to more repairs being necessary, Balmer had to complain that the bill was too high and the⁵ estate had been overcharged for the workman's travel. It seems likely that either a local firm (had there been one with the necessary expertise) or the makers themselves (had they not been so far away) might have solved the problems more quickly and, as it turned out, avoided the need for so much paper communication, uncertainty and frustration.

There is evidence too that Balmer was tightening the hierarchical structure of management and making more significant the stratum of workers which was above the labourers, both in terms of financial reward and of status and responsibility, consisting of the foremen of the various Estate enterprises. Early in 1851 Thomas Seagrave, the foreman of the Forestry labourers, was questioned about omissions from

1. Goodwood ms, E6103, Agent's Letter Book. R.Arras to Worsom and Co., Chelsea, June 4, 7 and 8, 1853.
2. Ibid. R.Arras to Worsom and Co., Chelsea, June 9, 1853.
3. Ibid. R.Arras to Worsom and Co., Chelsea, June 13, 1853.
4. Ibid. R.Arras to Worsom and Co., Chelsea, June 22, 1853.
5. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, R.Arras to Worsom and Co., Chelsea, Aug. 8, 1853.

his list of wood cut, and asked to provide more detailed information. Balmer clearly made himself aware of what was actually happening on the estate and four months later, he wrote again to Seagrave to complain that his statement of wood was inaccurate. 'How is this?' asked Balmer, and demanded that other details should be added, and the reply sent on the next day. On other Estate enterprises, changes were needed: the bailiff at Goodwood had been something of a problem in the early fifties - he was old and ineffective - and Balmer arranged for him to be pensioned off in one of the Duke's cottages. Balmer then imported a farm bailiff from Scotland, not from Gordon Castle, but from Kelso in the lowlands. Balmer's father had been a tenant farmer in the lowlands, 'the south country' and, although he had sublet the farm, he maintained his contacts with the area. It seems likely that it was through this connection that the new bailiff, P.E. McLay, was appointed, and he arrived at Goodwood in 1853. How much responsibility the bailiff should have was under discussion between Balmer and Arras who was 'quite of the opinion that Mr McLay should have the entire management' but the hierarchical structure was to be protected by making this management 'subject to my general superintendence'.

The structure Balmer set up remained important, and Goodwood workers could be promoted within it. In 1851, William Farmaner was a labourer on the Home Farm, living in one of the Duke's cottages in Boxgrove. He continued to work on the Estate and by 1859, he had risen to the position of foreman, earning 3/4d per day by 1861, compared to the average male rate of about 2/-. He was also responsible for keeping the men's time book which demanded a certain degree of literacy. He was

1. Goodwood ms E6103 Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to T. Seagrave, Feb 19, 1851.
2. Ibid. T. Balmer to T. Seagrave, June 6, 1851.
3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to T. Balmer, Nov 8, 1853.
4. Goodwood ms 1668, Letters from T. Balmer to Richmond, 1845.
5. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, R. Arras to T. Balmer, Sept 28, 1853.
6. Ibid.
7. Goodwood ms E5248, Men's Time Book; E5258, Domain Labourers Account 1858; E5248, Selhurst Park Labour Accounts, 1861.

already well known to the estate when he was appointed to the position of foreman,
¹
as was the Brick Kilns foreman, John Lillywhite. He came from a Westhampnett
family, married a local girl, and their seven children were all born in the parish of
²
Westhampnett where the Brick Kilns were situated.

This process of promotion of those who were well-known to the estate happened on
other estates in the west of Sussex also: on the Cowdray Estate, George Chevis began
by sharing a cottage with another labourer in 1844, taking over the whole cottage by
³
Michelmas of that year. In 1848 he was appointed to the post of foreman, and this
necessitated a change in his living accommodation, as 'the cottage is too far away'
so an exchange was arranged, and Chevis lived rent free as foreman, as was the
practice at Goodwood. Eighteen months later, he took another step up, and was
appointed as farm Bailiff, moving to Moor Farm and then on to Park Farm at Christmas
⁴
in 1849.

Balmer took seriously the dependence many tenants had on the agent for advice. They
relied on him to bring national developments, new ideas and reports of shows,
machinery and stockbreeding to their attention. He attended national and local
shows, and reference is made to those at Smithfield, Falkirk, the annual R.A.S.
⁵
shows, the South of England, the Sussex County and local shows. In addition, he had
his trips to Gordon Castle, and he kept in touch with some of the firms which were
developing the new technology. The new threshing machine was to be 'of the best
description, with the latest improvements' and when the question of a cultivator came

1. Goodwood ms E5248, Men's Time Book; E5258, Domain Labourers Account 1858; E5248, Selhurst Park Labour Accounts, 1861.

2. Census Returns, Westhampnett District, 1851.

3. Cowdray ms Uncatalogued Daybook, Michelmas 1844, Lady Day 1848, Michelmas 1849, Christmas 1849.

4. Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letter Book T. Balmer to Messrs Scott Sinclair, Greenock, Apr 11, 1851; T. Balmer to Millwright in Tweedsmouth, May 5, 1851; T. Balmer to Messrs Murdoch Aitken and Co, Glasgow.

up, Balmer borrowed one from a neighbour, and wrote to one firm that he would order¹ one 'after the R.A.S. Show when I hope to see one and buy one.'. Much of his advice took the form of help with financial matters, since his time at Goodwood began during the depression of the early fifties, and his advice to tenants must always be seen in the context of his role as Estate employee, with his salary paid by the Duke of Richmond. Beastall makes the point that 'loyalty to the landlord, rather than to² fellow tenant farmers was the hallmark of the good agent'. Balmer worked closely with the Duke. There is evidence of the 'constant interference and effective control exercised by the landlord' to which Thompson referred, and Richmond continued to take a personal interest in matters on the Estate, so Balmer was able to report 'I went³ with the Duke to see the alterations'. Yet there is also evidence to indicate that Balmer was given scope for action. Thompson suggests that 'questions of high policy involving large outlays or major changes in estate practice' would definitely be the landlord's responsibility, but suggests that when the landlord withdrew from the minutiae of day to day matters which would bring him into regular contact with his dependents and left such dealings to his agent, 'the roots of deference in a⁴ personally administered paternalism were being sapped.'. This might be true, but in Richmond's case, no such withdrawal is evident. He made sure that his face to face contact with dependents was maintained and as long as the agent standing in for him could be expected to act as Richmond would have acted, this was a safeguarding of the paternalist's position.

There were other changes after the arrival of the new agent: under Balmer's

1. Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to W. Bridger, April 17th, 1851.
2. T. Beastall, Agricultural Change in Lincolnshire, 1978, p.95; Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to W. Bridger, Apr 17, 1851.
3. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.175.
4. Ibid. pp.175/7 p.183.

management there was a noticeable difference in the pace of the work. Rusbridger seemed to operate on a long time scale: William Bridger had tried to see him over a period of two years from 1847. He wrote to him, invited him over to Westhamnett and sent various messengers, but all to no avail.¹ Similarly, Rev. Bowles issued invitations and tried to see Rusbridger, but again, no reply was forthcoming for two years.² It was this sort of agent whom Trollope satirised when he described the steward at Ullathorne in Barchester Towers: 'Mr Plomacy had been steward of Ullathorne for more than fifty years, and a very easy life he had had of it.³ The relaxed, face to face contact was echoed in Mr Sheepshanks, agent to the Hanley family in Mrs Gaskell's Wives and Daughters who 'might be seen trotting up and down on his stout old cob, speaking to attentive plasters and glaziers about putting everything - on the outside at least - about the cottages belonging to my lord in perfect repair.'⁴ Balmer constantly stressed urgency and imposed time limits: 'the Duke wishes to have it (the farm) valued as soon as you possibly can.'; the Brick Kiln foreman was instructed to subcontract some work because 'our own people have not the time to do it'; and local builders were told that they must hurry to complete farm buildings by September 1st.⁵

In the 1840s it had been the tenants who were putting pressure on Rusbridger to 'let your communications be in writing', and demanding written proof of what the agent claimed had previously been agreed.⁶ The face to face dealings had been agreeable, but failed because they were not followed up by action, and William Bridger, the Recorder of Chichester, pointed to this mismatch, complaining 'your language has been

1. Goodwood ms E5109, Rev. Bowles to J. Rusbridger 1847-9.
2. Goodwood ms E5107, W. Bridger to J. Rusbridger, June 1847-9; Goodwood ms E5109, Rev. Bowles to J. Rusbridger 1847-9.
3. A. Trollope, Barchester Towers, 1857, p.315.
4. E. Gaskell, Wives and Daughters 1864, p.269
5. Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letter Book, Thomas Balmer to J. Stapley, Feb.27th, 1851; to J.Lillywhite, Apr. 11th, 1851; to R and C Vick, July 7th, 1851.
6. Goodwood ms E5108 Letter from W.Bridger to J.Rusbridger, Aug 12,1848.

obliging; I only wish you had acted up to it.'¹ By the 1850s it was the agent who was putting pressure on the tenants to put things in writing, to pay rents on time, to produce more and more accurate paper communications: in short, the estate was making more and greater demands on others to work within the framework which the management had created.² Inevitably, this had the effect of strengthening the role of the House as an administrative centre. Mingay describes how even in the 18th century, a country house provided accommodation for administrators, and acted as a business headquarters,³ which was vitally important to the running of an estate. It had an additional significance in the case of an estate of broken or scattered lands which could so easily become, as Denman pointed out, an empire of separate properties, severally managed, where central control could mean tenuous oversight, and might be restricted to financial policy and accounting. The strengthening of the House as an administrative centre was part of a larger process which showed the estate to be au fait with more modern commercial practices; to be unwilling to pay bills not carefully itemised, and to enforce the hierarchical authority structure of management which ran from the Duke, through his agent, down to the foremen of the various estate enterprises, and finally to the labour force itself.

4

In the Goodwood Estate Office, Balmer was assisted by Robert Arras. The precise roles of the two men are never clearly stated, but it could have been some sort of training exercise. Arras began by acting strictly according to Balmer's instructions. In a letter of 1853, he reported to Balmer, 'I opened (the letter) according to your instructions', and in dealing with the tenants, he told them 'I am

1. Goodwood ms E5108 Letter from W.Bridger to J.Rusbridger, Aug 12, 1848.
2. Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to T. Seagrave, June 6th, 1851; to T. Cosens, Dec. 20th, 1850; to J. Sadler, July 23rd, 1851; to G.Sowter, Dec. 20th, 1850.
3. G.E. Mingay, Landed Society in the 18th Century, 1963, p.217.
4. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, R.Arras to T. Balmer, June 3, 1853.

1
desired by Mr Balmer to state'. By the spring of 1853, Arras was sufficiently
experienced to be left in charge while Balmer went to Gordon Castle, and the two men
2
kept in touch by letter. Balmer left in mid April and returned at Michelmas, and
Arras displayed some caution in his dealings with the tenants during this period. He
followed Balmer in a reliance on written communication and detail. He wanted to see
a sketch of what Mr Halsted proposed to do at the mortar mill before alterations were
3
made, and gave an opinion that a larger pulley would probably have to be used. Like
Balmer, he displayed an interest in machines and new implements, and ordered a new
4
grubber, a new sawbench and a 6 cwt machine for weighing sheep. He was aware of his
own inexperience when left alone, and so were the tenants: Arras told Balmer in one
letter 'Mr Duke certainly placed me in an awkward position, but I, learning by
experience, will take care he, nor no-one else will do the same again.'. The
employment of an agent with what was probably an assistant from 1853, may represent
an example of the practice of training a potential agent under a more experienced
guide.

Ability in management itself was seen as important to the agent of the mid century:
5
Lord Acland dismissed his agent in 1858 'because of his troubles'. Acland had
forbidden the agent, Barber, to marry, but nevertheless the marriage took place on
October 19th, 1858, and according to the housekeeper, Mrs Barber 'was confined of a
6
daughter on Nov. 25th'. The resulting sacking caused Barber to say that he was
'fully deserving such a chastisement' but Acland did offer to give him 'a character
as to his capability of management', and as a result, he obtained two interviews: one

1. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letterbook, R. Arras to T. Balmer, June 3rd, 1853
2. Ibid. R.Arras to T. Balmer, June 18, 1853..
3. Ibid. Mar 14, 1853.
4. Ibid. R.Arras to T. Balmer, Feb. 28, Apr 18, Apr 24, June 3, 1853.
5. Acland Papers, 838 Letter from T. Barker to J.D. Acland, Dec. 11, 1858.
6. Acland ms, Devon C.R.O. 779 Letter from housekeeper to J.D. Acland, Nov. 29, 1858.

for the post of agent to Lord Vernon. and another as steward to Sir Maurice Berkley.

At some point in the mid fifties, Arras was left as sole agent at Goodwood, and he
2
remained in the post until 1858. His sudden and unexpected death was followed by an
interim period during which Dr Hair took over and an agent called Wilson was
appointed in July 1858, arriving at Goodwood on 26th of that month. His holding of
the post was brief, and his death at the end of February 1859 once again left Dr Hair
3
to cope. In mid June, when the new agent took over this ended a period of rapid
4
change and uncertainty. The new agent was Thomas Henry Buckner Valentine, a captain
in the Sussex Militia, and son of Rev. Thomas Valentine, Vicar of Cocking, West Dean
and Nuthurst. Aged 41 when he took over, he remained in the post of Goodwood agent
for nearly thirty years, until his death in 1887.

Before Captain Valentine's time, the agents played a smaller part in public speech
making than became true in the late fifties and beyond. As the fifth Duke had spent
much time at Goodwood in the fifties, and the Earl of March and Lord Henry Lennox
were on hand to deputise for him should the need arise, there was no shortage of
5
speakers from the aristocratic family itself. When Captain Valentine took over, and
the Duke's illness kept him away from agricultural activities however, the Captain
proved himself more than equal to the task of chairing meetings and making speeches
6
whenever necessary. The sixth Duke's absences on parliamentary business made it
impossible for him to be as much in attendance at local functions as his father had
been, and indeed it is also possible that the landowner was by this time, more likely

1. Acland ms 838, Devon C.R.O. Letter from T. Barker to J.D. Acland, Dec. 11th, 1858.
2. Goodwood ms E6015, Agent's Letter Book, Oct 15, 1855 Letter from R.Arras to T. Balmer implies Balmer's absence is more than temporary.
3. Goodwood ms E5258, Estate Account, 1858.
4. Goodwood ms E5081/2 Opening of Account with Capt. Valentine
5. W.S.G. Chi.Wool Fair, July 11,1857; Chi. Fatstock and Root Show Dec. 15, 1854;
Chi. Wool Fair, June 28, 1856
6. W.S.G. Chi. Wool Fair, June 7,1862.

to be seen at regional or national events, leaving his agent to cope with local activities whenever possible: certainly Captain Valentine became a popular and witty speaker at local agricultural meetings as the Duke's representative.¹ This shift reflects the changing nature of paternalism, and the further involvement of the agent as the Duke's alternate. Whereas Rusbridger had power of attorney to go to meetings on the Duke's behalf and Balmer displayed initiative and considerable agricultural knowledge and skill, Valentine developed aspects of the role which made him the focal point at public gatherings, taking on some of the face to face contact between paternalist and dependents which the fifth Duke had kept for himself.

The changes between the approach and management style of the agent in the forties, and of those in the fifties indicate a major step in the professionalisation of management at Goodwood. From reliance on face to face contact during the 'daily ride', and verbal interchange, the agents demanded more written communications, changed the accounting system and operated regular hours when they could be found at Goodwood. Balmer established a routine as soon as he arrived and told a tenant 'you will find me in my office here on Tuesdays and Fridays', and he displayed none of the reluctance to deal with paper work shown by Rusbridger.² Thompson links this growth of the professionalism of management with the change in terminology from 'steward' to 'agent', and suggests that the latter word 'came to describe the superiors, the professional men of education'.³ Even in the 1850s, both terms were used: Lord Vernon and the Duke of Bedford had agents, whereas Sir Maurice Sopes had a steward.⁴ John Rusbridger's obituary in the Hampshire Telegraph referred to him as

1. Ibid.

2. Goodwood ms E5104, Letter from W. Bridger to J. Rusbridger, May 29, 1846.

3. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.162.

4. Acland ms Devon C.R.O. 841, Letter from T. Barker to J.D. Acland, Dec. 17th, 1858.

'Land Steward to His Grace, the Duke of Richmond', although Rusbridger referred to himself as 'agent', and was so called by the Duke, by tenants and others during his
1
lifetime. Both words were used of the agents of the fifties, 'agent' being the more common, but even in 1887, Captain Valentine's obituary referred to him as 'for nearly
2
thirty years, steward to the Duke of Richmond.'

Whatever the terminology used to describe the stewards or agents, there were clearer indications of expertise and knowledge in agricultural matters after 1850, and the management displayed firmer leadership in their dealings with tenants and Estate
3
workers. The speedy introduction of machinery, and new procedures for the foremen to follow show an anxiety to improve the farming and to update estate enterprises, as well as a determination to demand more meticulous attention to what the management expected of its Estate personnel. The employment of an agent with the confidence and firmness displayed by Balmer and the addition of what was probably an assistant agent from the early fifties, represents a step in the professionalisation process, and Thompson points out that as professional standards grew, the practice of training potential agents in the office of a great owner before moving on to a post as controlling agent became more common. This was of great importance as the agent's role expanded into a key position in the development of estates, and the estate office became increasingly important.

During the fifties and sixties at Goodwood, the role of agent changed and developed. From the face to face style of John Rusbridger, who also had his interests as a

1. Hampshire Telegraph, June 1st, 1850.

2. W.S.G. June 17, 1887.

3. Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letterbook letters from T. Balmer to T. Seagrave, Feb 19 and June 6, 1851, to J. Sadler July 23, 1851, to Rapers, solicitor, Jan 1851.

tenant farmer of the estate, the role was increased, with some safeguards to ensure that the Estate was financially protected. At Goodwood, the mistakes made in the time of Rusbridger were never repeated: accounts were carefully and regularly audited, and on the death of Robert Arras, his widow had to sign the accounts on behalf of her husband.¹ Never again did the Estate employ an agent who was also a tenant farmer, and the year 1850 marked a turning point for the estate's management. Trust was quickly re-established and, although the agent's salary remained below what it was on other similarly sized estates, the move towards professionalisation of the agent role was aided by Balmer's contribution. Trollope referred to the increasing control taken by agents when describing Mr Plomacy, the steward of the Ullathorne household in Barchester Towers who marked down trees to be cut down, and commanded that no shrub should be planted without his consent. 'In these matters he was sometimes driven to run counter to his mistress, but he rarely allowed his mistress to carry the point against him.'² At Goodwood, the social relationship between agent and the Richmonds is obscure: few personal communications survive. The fourth Duke's family wrote cordially to John Rusbridger 'I am very much obliged to you for the care you have taken of my dog, and beg you will keep it at Goodwood for me.', with questions about the state of the garden, and references to 'dear Mr Rusbridger'.³ The situation at Goodwood was complicated by the existence of the Duke's secretary, Dr Hair,⁴ who had been his companion since he had saved the Duke's life. He had been a young army surgeon at that time, but gave up medicine when Richmond offered him a post. Over thirty years later, the census return described his occupation as 'visitor',⁵ although he had made Goodwood his home for more than three decades. This

1. Goodwood ms E5258, Cash Book, 1857-1858.

2. A. Trollope, Barchester Towers, 1857, p.315.

3. Goodwood ms 314, Letters to J. Rusbridger from Earl of March, Lord George Lennox, Lady Mary Lennox, 1811, 1812.

4. J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, pp.76/7.

5. Census Returns, Boxgrove parish, 1851.

description avoided the need to classify Dr Hair as less than the Duke's social equal as the designation of 'secretary' or 'physician' would have done. He travelled regularly with the Duke, and alone of the Estate personnel, Dr Hair had a regular role to play in all the Duke's estates. The agents had contact with Gordon Castle, and travelled north from time to time, but they had no responsibility for matters there. This was not unusual: Thompson refers to the separateness of a landowner's properties and cites the Dukes of Portland and of Buccleugh: 'the Duke of Portland's London property is in Boodle's hands, but Boodle has nothing to do with the Nottinghamshire property or the Scotch estate. So the Duke of Buccleugh: his factor¹ in Scotland has nothing to do with the Northamptonshire property, nor the Middlesex'. This distinction between the estates is another factor to be taken into account with salary considerations: Rusbridger, Balmer, Arras and the others were Goodwood agents, rather than agents to the Duke of Richmond's properties.

In some ways, the relationship between landlord and agent could be deceptive. Thompson describes the social relationship as 'close and confidential relations with employers', although there were important distinctions. Farrington described how Lord Lonsdale 'directs to his steward Richardson, esq., but never invites him to his table.'² Trollope's Duke of Omnium was more liberal than this, however, for it was his land agent who greeted guests at the door, and then sat at the bottom of the³ table, asking one of the guests to say grace. There might be closeness between landlord and agent, indeed it was a sufficiently commonly observed fact for Dickens to make it a key factor in the plot of A Tale of Two Cities, where Charles Darnay

1. Wentworth Woodhouse ms G. 52, H. Drummond to C. Sturgeon, 11 Aug, 1854, quoted in F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.167.

2. Farrington Diary V, quoted in F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.156.

3. A. Trollope, Dr Thorne, 1858, p.209.

risks his life and returns to France because Gabelle, the agent for the Evremonde
¹
 estates, has been imprisoned. Had this been a totally unbelievable reaction, Dickens
 could never have made it a crucial development in the plot. Nevertheless, the social
 distinctions remained clearly there. Lady Amelia de Courcy, an aristocratic relative
 of the squire's daughter in Dr Thorne, advises her on an offer of marriage made to
 her by a lawyer, Mr Gazebee, that she 'would not wish to see you married to the agent
 for the family estate...though papa always receives him as a gentleman, that is he
 dines at table and all that - he is not on the same footing in the house as the
 ordinary guests and friends of the family.', and Trollope summed up the distinction
 succinctly: 'Here is a man earning his bread; honestly, I dare say, but in a humble
²
 position'. Mrs Gaskell made clear distinctions between 'steward' and 'agent' in the
 characters of Mr Sheepshanks and Mr Preston in Wives and Daughters, and the Squire
 observed that 'I've known land agents who were gentlemen, and I've known some who
³
 were not.'. Yet the position of the agent did not guarantee social acceptance, for
 'clever land agent as he was, and high up in the Earl's favour on that account, yet
 that conduct of which he had been guilty ...were just what no gentleman, no
⁴
 honourable man, no manly man, could put up with in anyone about him.'.

Interesting though the social dimension may be, the significant element in the
 landlord/agent relationship was that relating to the running of the Estate, and the
 agent's capacity to initiate change despite any differences in social status. In
 many ways, at Goodwood, it was the agents themselves who were responsible for
 improvements in standards of management: Balmer was responsible for the tightening up

1. C. Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities, 1859.
2. A. Trollope, Dr. Thorne, 1858, pp.407/8.
3. E. Gaskell, Wives and Daughters, 1864, p.330.
4. Ibid. p.46.

of procedures in the Estate office, maximising Estate enterprises, and ensuring that a new, more businesslike approach was adopted, and trained by him, Arras followed suit. There are clearer indications of expertise in agricultural matters, and the agents displayed more definite leadership in their dealings with tenants.

The mid century marked a significant point in the Estate's capacity to change, for it was at this point that Richmond took a bold step and appointed an agent whom he then trusted to act. Unlike Thomas Coke of Norfolk, who refused to have a steward or agent after a 'peculiarly shattering experience' which involved the discovery of a¹ dishonest agent, Richmond was not driven to become his own agent. It would have been understandable if he had taken such a decision in view of the fact that he was spending more time on the Estate, he had Dr Hair to help him, his attitude was pessimistic after Repeal, and his approach cautious. Contrary to this, installing Wagstaff to investigate financial affairs was businesslike and skilfully handled. Richmond obtained his money without having to resort to legal proceedings and with minimum publicity, and he then gave Balmer scope to develop and improve the Estate. Richmond probably derived much of his confidence in Balmer from his relationship with his father, but nevertheless, it was a courageous step from an otherwise cautious landowner. Certainly the interaction between Balmer and the estate did much to enhance the role of agent at Goodwood which Arras and later Captain Valentine were able to build on. Balmer took powers which were more than those of a guardian of routine processes and embarked on a full development of the Estate and of a hierarchical estate bureaucracy. If the older view of management under Rusbridger

1. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th century, 1963, p.155.

had been to communicate between the Duke and his dependents, representing him when he was not there and informing him of events which took place in his absence, in the fifties, it moved on to become more dynamically associated with change.

This chapter has shown the growing importance of the agent in helping to retain the social and political position of the landowner, even to the extent of sharing in rituals on his behalf by the time of Captain Valentine. It has indicated the significant part played by agents in facilitating agricultural change, and in operating an administrative structure which would enable tenants to accommodate change and to develop their farms. The importance of the agents in overseeing accounts, ensuring rents were paid and turning Estate enterprises into elements which were not only breaking even, but might also make profits were all important factors in making activities on the estate cost-effective. They might not result in large profits, but the cumulative effect of a number of small solutions to financial matters was effective in ameliorating the landowner's financial position. The contrast between the agents of the fifties and John Rusbridger's earlier approach is marked. In short, after his death in 1850, the agents became important in the process of Estate development. Two aspects of change at Goodwood will be examined in the chapter which follows: the implementation of improvement at Goodwood, and the arrangement of farming units.

CHAPTER SIX

FARMS, FARMING AND FARMERS ON THE GOODWOOD ESTATE

As the management at Goodwood changed and developed from the mid century, its effect on farming practice was bound to change also. The connection between the great estates and agricultural improvement was well established, as has been shown in a number of studies, but varied from one estate to another and through time.¹ Thompson identified three different agricultural revolutions, and it seems likely that the precise definition of what was meant by 'agricultural improvement' varied at different stages.² This chapter is in three parts: it attempts to identify the type of agricultural improvement which was taking place at Goodwood in the mid nineteenth century; it explores the question of farm sizes and leases; and taking this together with the evidence on tenant capital and agricultural practice, examines whether there was indeed a new style farmer at Goodwood by the end of the 1860s. Implicit in all this is the question of whether the Duke of Richmond's role as leader of improved agriculture, with its stress on change and economic considerations, was in conflict with his other role as guardian of the institutions of traditional rural society, where the emphasis was on continuity and the maintenance of a social structure.

The tripartite system on which English farming was based was unique, and the role of each party - landlord, tenant and labourer - was important, as was the interaction

1. See for example, S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980; T.W. Beastall, Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire, 1978; A.Acland, A Devon Family, 1981.

2. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968. p.63.

between the roles. At Goodwood, as on most other estates, the precise position of the tenants has remained obscure, and the nature and significance as well as the degree of their contribution to change on the estate are not very clear. None of the individual farm records have survived, details of the farmers' lives are scarce, and evidence is fragmentary and indirect, but this is the norm for tenant farmers. The intentions, ideals, frustrations and practices of individuals remain largely unknown, and without them, any picture of the tenant's role is incomplete, since it is bound to leave out a key element: the farmer's perception of his own role. Less attention has been focused by historians on the role of the tenant than on either of the other two members of the agricultural family, and the indirect references to farmers and their farms in the Goodwood Papers, together with direct interaction between the Dukes of Richmond, their agents and the farmers have been pieced together to provide a picture of an important, and often neglected, middle layer of estate society.

In many ways, the philosophy of agricultural improvement was never satisfactorily translated into a clearly worked out approach to tenant farming in the fifties and sixties. When high farming was applied to estates, the demands on capital were very high, but more importantly for the paternalist, there was a serious risk that the traditional roles and relationships of rural society would be subverted. The alternative was for agricultural change to proceed slowly and piecemeal; efficient and inefficient, innovative and traditional farmers existing side by side on the same estate. Such gradual change was hardly surprising, since it was taking place within an unregenerated social framework which had been built up with the traditional

landlord/tenant roles and relationships in mind. The strength of such relationships at Goodwood was investigated in Chapter Three and the roles, which were implicitly revealed thereby, contained safeguards to prevent the very changes which high farming demanded. This was especially true in areas such as western Sussex which had largely been untouched by industrialisation, or even urbanisation, and where the traditional social pyramid described in Chapter Two was still intact.

1. AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

Improvement was a word much used by mid-Victorian agriculturists, but rarely defined.

Further, although the spread of good practice was highly desirable, and to be encouraged by the great estates in particular, the process of dissemination on an estate has received little attention. This section examines some of the significant characteristics of agricultural improvement in the mid century, but shows how such improvement at Goodwood, as on other estates, represented the continuation of an approach which began in the previous century. It will examine the fifth Duke's contribution to improvement and the ways in which the management at Goodwood attempted to spread good practice and to encourage higher standards of farming.

In his article 'The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880', Thompson attempted to refine the concept of the agricultural revolution by arguing that it was not one but three, of which the second encompassed the period between 1815 and 1880, starting just about the time when the fifth Duke, as Earl of March, went back to Goodwood to live on and run the estate, and ending some twenty years after his death. That this second agricultural revolution was a substantial affair was not in doubt, involving
2
'something like half the farmland and half the farm output'. Thompson identified the

1. G.Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75, 1971, p.85.

2. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968.p.63.

period after the French Wars as one when a new stage in agricultural improvement was

1
reached, and it was also a time when a new approach to old problems was demanded. The traditional English response to high prices after harvest failure, or to pay arrears of rent, was to grow more wheat. After 1815 this proved to be an inadequate solution, and pressures to improve grew. The post war price fall encouraged greater efficiency in keeping costs low and maximising profits, and during the next thirty years technical, physical and economic factors contributed to agricultural improvement.

Of the technical factors he included, Thompson mentioned particularly developments
2
in fertilisers and feedstuffs, machinery and new implements. Chambers and Mingay characterise the 19th century revolution as being different from the earlier one in
3
terms of scale and in the realisation of the contribution of science. The transport revolution, and in particular the growth of the railways, had a profound effect on agricultural development: Mechi claimed that improvements created new and extending markets; produce was transported more quickly and effectively, and it provided
4
opportunities for farmers to acquire a national perspective on farming. Railways enabled shows to be held all over the country, and in particular, the annual Royal Agricultural Society Shows encouraged farmers to venture further afield. Their journeys were eased by travel concessions and the shows provided displays of seed, implements and machinery. The number of national shows and competitions grew and

1. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968.p.71.

2. Ibid. pp.65/6

3. Chambers and Mingay The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880, 1966, p.13.

4. J.J.Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 4th edn. 1864, p.26.

ideas were spread through the Society's journal with its articles, competitions and
1
descriptions of improved practice. All these factors contributed to the spread of
2
ideas and the acceptance of improvement as desirable and possible.

Physical improvements centred mainly on drainage which had been of particular
significance on the heavy clays but was also relevant to land flooded by rivers, or
which was low lying and close to the coast. Improvements in farm buildings were of
increasing significance as the growth of stall feeding gathered momentum, and the
3
process was accelerated by the removal of the brick tax in 1850.

In economic terms, Thompson identified as major factors the intensity of cultivation
and the increase in capital which was characteristic of farming as it developed
4
during the forties and fifties. These two factors culminated in the ideas of Mechi
who, in the fifties, urged farmers to halve the sizes of their units, thus doubling
5
the amount of capital which could be expended on the land. Accounting practices
adopted by the commercial world enabled better financial and other records to be
kept, so that by the sixties it was at least possible to publish national statistics
on agriculture.

All these changes reflect the tremendous importance the Victorians attached to
progress. Works like Hints to the Charitable, published in 1848, placed among the
duties of the great agriculturist that he should 'lead improved agriculture' as part
6
of his paternalistic duty. Further, if leadership of improved agriculture was a

1. Scott Watson, History of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, 1839-1939, 1939.
2. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968. p.63.
3. Ibid. p.64.
4. J.J.Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 4th edn. 1864, p.60.
5. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, Hints to the Charitable, 1838, quoted in D. Roberts Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.124.

desirable component of duty, it was also essential in the process of retaining positions of social and economic control. Brundage described how the involvement of aristocratic landowners in the administration of the new Poor Law enabled them to be part authors of the changes which ensued, and the same might be said of agricultural improvement.¹ Involvement in change permitted aristocratic landowners to continue their leadership role in an integrated way: agricultural improvement could still be part and parcel of the whole fabric of rural life, with great landowners at the apex of the pyramid and in positions of control. Moore has argued that pressure to improve both contributed to support for Repeal, and was in turn reinforced by Repeal itself.² A general conviction that a fall in rents was bound to ensue meant that 'any landlord who wished to secure a rising rent was bound to introduce improvements.'³ By the time Caird wrote his pamphlet of 1849, he could identify that a certain amount of improved practice existed, and although his retrospective essay of 1887 reported little improvement on the best practice, he recorded that what had been thought exceptional 25 years before was much more common, and many farmers who had been mediocre were very good by 1887.⁴ For Caird, dissemination of good practice was the key to agricultural progress, for 'It is through an enlightened tenantry that a large estate can be permanently and profitably improved.'⁵

The spread of good practice is difficult to chart, but books on agriculture, the R.A.S. and other journals and shows, local and national societies and the acceptance that improvement was a suitable subject for debate led to the sort of understanding which was reached on the Mount Trenchard Estate where farmers were told that 'you can

1. A. Brundage, 'The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: a reappraisal of the Revolution in Government'. E.H.R. 1977, p.47.
2. D.C.Moore, 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVlll no.3, 1965.
3. W. Hasbach, A History of the English Agricultural Labourer, 1908, p.243.
4. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food 1880, p.15.
5. J. Caird, English Farming, 1851, 1852, p.220.

now usefully visit each other's farms, you can now usefully profit each by his
neighbour's experience.¹ In the East Riding, Adams records how the Hull Advertiser
praised landowners in the county for creating a class of 'industrious, improving and
thrifty tenants; and such tenants fill the land with an abundance of the prime
necessities of life.'² Underpinning all this was the gradual change in landowner
attitudes to improvement: at first the interest of the great improvers, becoming a
duty by the 1840s, a matter of expedience after Repeal, and finally encapsulated in
legislation in the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875.

Yet although there was great interest in improvement in the mid Victorian period,
previous generations had adopted a positive attitude to agricultural development. It
has been suggested that landlord interest in eighteenth century improvements has been
exaggerated, and that 'a few great agriculturists like Coke of Holkham and Townsend
gave eighteenth century landlords as a whole an unmerited reputation of being
interested in agricultural improvements.'³ This may be true in many instances, but
at Goodwood, the centrality of the landowner as initiator is clear in these
developments, and the unique nature of the social pyramid in Sussex, reflecting in
detail the traditional hierarchy of rural society, put such owners of great estates
in a very powerful position. What is in doubt is how far this good practice spread
among the farming community on the estate, for it seems likely that the circulation
of new ideas was limited. The initial printing of Young's Annals of Agriculture was
500, and this was followed by two reprints, each of a similar number, and it is
probable that other agricultural writings were similarly limited.⁴ It is likely too

1. S. de Vere, Report After an Inspection of the Mount Trenchard Estate, 1853, p.1.
2. Hull Advertiser April 5th, 1856, quoted in M. Adams, Agricultural Change in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1850-80, unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Hull, 1957, p.270
3. B.Kerr, Bound To The Soil, 1968, p.205
4. A.Young, Autobiography, 1883, p.111

that much of what was written was being read by those who were already converted. Even at this stage, farmers were being faced with change, for agriculture had already gone beyond subsistence farming. In order to increase his profits, the farmer had to manage his resources efficiently, and such profits were becoming increasingly important. Farmers depended on them to pay the rent and to provide new seeds and implements. Such factors demanded development - perhaps not in terms of high capital investment, but as Thompson puts it, farming demanded 'a great deal of intelligence¹ in comparison with that displayed of his ancestors.'

The eighteenth century agricultural revolution had certainly dealt with some improvements in agricultural practice at Goodwood. The name of the third Duke of Richmond was to be found amongst lists of great agricultural improvers, and Arthur Young's praise for his 'great and beneficial exertions' has already been mentioned.² The establishment and development of the estate's Home Farm also won Richmond a national reputation, the milk and butter from his dairy being particularly exceptional, as were his experimental methods of working oxen on the farm. Major capital expenditure was the province of the landowner, and enclosure and livestock improvement made considerable demands on capital outlay. Arthur Young commented particularly on the quickset hedges with which the third Duke enclosed the fields at Goodwood, but undoubtedly the greatest achievement of all was connected with the³ southdown. The animal was about to be transformed 'from a light and long legged animal into one solid and compact, excellent for mutton and still very good for⁴ wool.'. However, although Ellman's connection with the breed goes back to 1780,

1. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968, p.63.

2. A.Young, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex, 1808, p.17.

3. A.Young, *op.cit.* pp.253-7

4. A.Young, *op.cit.* p.64.

Lloyd quotes an earlier reference of 1778 in connection with the third Duke of Richmond. Yet Chambers and Mingay give the credit to John Ellman of Glynde in Sussex¹ 'and his successors.'. In 1856, the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal took care to mention 'the great and constant care which has been bestowed on the breed by Ellman and his cotemporaries (sic) as well as by his successors.'. Richmond too² deserves some recognition for his work as one of the breed's developers.

Neither interest in agricultural improvement, nor the link between the great estates and improvement was new by the time the fifth Duke of Richmond became master of Goodwood in 1819, but attitudes to improvement had changed, and so too had the task which landlords faced in initiating and supporting improvement on their estates. The fifth Duke still showed interest in the type of improvement which had concerned his great uncle, and was described by the Sussex Advertiser as 'a man who has so³ advantaged agriculture'. Livestock improvement remained significant as the record of prizes for sheep at the Smithfield Show indicates. During the decade from 1829, the⁴ Estate won nine prizes, amounting to £60, including two gold and three silver medals.

In the next ten years, the number of prizes was increased to 11, the financial gain⁵ had more than doubled, and one gold and five silver medals were added to the Goodwood collection, but it was the decade from 1849 which marked the climax of the fifth Duke's time at Goodwood. In the 1840s, the quality of the flock had diminished and the Duke had stopped the annual sales from the Goodwood flock, but these were⁵ reinstated in 1850, much to the delight of the Sussex Advertiser. Between 1849 and 1858, more than twice the prizes, nearly three times the money and five

1. Chambers and Mingay The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880, 1966, pp.68/69.
2. E.Walford Lloyd (ed), The Southdown Sheep, 1933, p.40; J.Wilson, 'On the Various Breeds of Sheep in Great Britain,' J.R.A.S.E. vol.16, 1856.
3. Sussex Advertiser, Nov 1, 1860.
4. Goodwood ms 1270 Prizes won at Smithfield Show.
5. Sussex Advertiser, Sept 17, 1850.

times the number of medals gained in the previous decade were won by the sheep. 25 prizes, totalling £365 and six gold and 27 silver medals was an impressive total. The number dropped in the following decade to 17 prizes, £200 a gold and ten
1
silver medals.

Goodwood continued to maintain high standards with its sheep, and hire of rams was part of the Home Farm's income: the Earl of Exeter was amongst those who hired rams in 1852, and the Goodwood reputation spread far - they went to Doncaster in the same
2
year, for example. Advice was sought by other agriculturists: a letter from Robert Arras's uncle in Manchester asked for some sheep for his friends, but Arras advised 'This is not the country for Leicesters, and would advise them to be got from the
3
North of England.'. He had looked out some rams as requested, 'but they are not candidly the best we have got - for no breeder in England would part with those...The
4
Duke's flock is considered among the best in the country.'.

Improvement was the main purpose of the Royal Agricultural Society and the fifth Duke played a prominent part in its activities: he had been a founder member, he was one of the trustees until his death, and acted as President on more than one occasion. Of the other Sussex aristocratic landowners, only the Earl of Chichester and Egmont
5
retained such constant interest and both were Vice Presidents of the Society.

The personal interest of the landowner in improvement was not enough, and a key element in improvement in the quarter century from 1850 was the dissemination of good

1. See table 23.

2. Goodwood ms E6104 Agents' Letter Book D. Arras to Exeter, Jan 27, 1853.

3. Goodwood ms E6104, R. Arras to his uncle, July 7, 1853.

4. Ibid.

5. Hants and Sussex Chronicle, Nov. 3, 1860.

practice, and the encouragement of the farmers. The implications of Caird's explanation of how the best practice of 1850 was not improved on a quarter of a century later, but had spread from the few to the many, leaves many questions¹ unanswered. At one point, Caird indicated how progress could be made when men with adequate capital, made in the towns, bought estates or farms in rural areas and improved them. Does that indicate that improvement was usually introduced by incomers? The Royal Agricultural Society's view was that shows, the sharing of the best practice, competitions and articles in their journal contributed to the spread² of improved farming. Mechi pointed to the example of the landowner 'Good tenants may be created or bred on the estate, having before them the example of a noble minded and judicious proprietor who combines progress with profit.', and Pusey was full of confidence that progress was within the farmers' scope: 'If our farmers will enquire what is done by the foremost of them, they will themselves write such a book³ of agricultural improvement as never was written elsewhere.' On his Scottish estates, the Duke of Richmond offered to send copies of The Farmer's Magazine for distribution to the tenants, although the agent assured him that most of the farmers already had copies of the journal, so there would be no need for this. Chambers and Mingay gave much of the credit to farmers themselves, whose purchases floated the new implement manufacturers but landlords who improved their estates were given praise by⁴ contemporary writers like Mechi. The fifth Duke of Richmond being mentioned in a list of half a dozen improving landlords included in How to Farm Profitably. Probably all these factors were at work in the spread of good practice, and contributed to the general improvement in farming standards.

1. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food 1880, p.27.

2. Ibid.; P. Pusey, What Ought Landlords and Tenants to Do?, 1851, p.

4. Goodwood ms 1688, Letters of Thomas Balmer Sen.to Richmond, 1845; J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution, 1780-1850, 1966, p.

5. J.J.Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 4th edn. 1864, p.11.

Spreading good practice on an estate could be a large task in terms of the geographical area to be covered, and the number of farmers to be influenced. At Goodwood, some 35 tenanted farms on the downs and on the coastal plain accounted for 11,843 out of the Estate's 17,000 acres in 1852.¹ Indeed 65-90% of British farmland was in the hands of tenant farmers. The farmers' significance was summed up by Coleman in 1858 when he said that 'the condition of the soil and stock form the real capital, and the balance at the bank may be flourishing, whilst the stock and the capital are yearly depreciating.'² Evidence of how well the Goodwood farmers were looking after the stock and the soil at this time is patchy, as it is on other estates. This may in itself be an indication that most of the farmers were at least farming up to the standards of the district, and on the coastal plain area in 1850, in his prize essay on 'The Farming of Sussex', Farncombe commented 'I have no improvements to suggest in this area.'³

From occasional references in the agents' letters, it is clear that the Goodwood management was trying to impose certain standards on the tenants. Emily Huskisson had not carried out the improvements which had been suggested to her; Thomas Cosens was failing to keep some parts of the farm as clean as he might, and the negative comments on some farmers in the 1852/3 rent negotiations indicate a pressure to improve.⁴ The tenant of St Mary's Farm was in arrears, but the agent's memo also noted that 'he is not likely to do well.'. In January 1853, someone was sent round to inspect the farm. The ensuing description painted a picture of chaos, with a dead horse, another one dying, and the house in such a state that 'if we pull it about it

1. See table 24.

2. G.E. Mingay (ed), The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.14.

3. J. Coleman, 'Farm Accounts', J.R.A.S.E. vol.19, 1858, p.122.

4. J. Farncombe, 'On the Agriculture of Sussex', J.R.A.S.E. vol.11 1850, p.81.

5. Goodwood Papers E5104, Letters to J. Rusbridger from E. Huskisson and from T. Cosens to J. Rusbridger, Mar 20, Sep 5, 1849.

6. Goodwood Papers E5414, Memo from A. Hair, 1852.

1
might go to pieces.'. In April of that year, St Mary's was divided between the Home Farm and three tenant farms. What happened to the Stamp family, the tenants, is not recorded, although they certainly quit the farm, despite having been its tenants since at least 1818. If there was a conflict between paternalistic attitudes towards long established tenants and the new ethic of 'Landowning As A Business', there is no evidence of it here. On the positive side, there was evidence to show that some tenants won prizes at local agricultural shows, but in no sense were the Goodwood tenants dominant in such shows.

The pressure to improve has been mentioned, but 'improvement' was a word loosely used. It could often indicate the replacement or renewal of outworn or outdated buildings or equipment, as well as more radical change. Perhaps in the fifties and sixties new buildings and the move towards more equally mixed farming units were important as in the forties, drainage had been an element which held a specific value as 'progressive'. Identification of such elements could indicate the presence of new-style farmers at Goodwood, 'men of capital and intelligence.'.

Indications of what constituted good practice in the fifties and sixties are to be found in the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. Criticised by contemporaries because what it suggested merely confirmed existing practice, the clauses of this Act show what was happening on good farms, and in revealing how the landlord/tenant relationship contributed to 'improvement' in the quarter century which led up to it. Although such relationships were dependent on custom, verbal interchange and local

1. Goodwood Papers E6104, Letters from T. Balmer to G. Bayley, W. Souter, A. Fogden, Apr 24, 1853.
2. Goodwood ms, E5255 General Ledger, 1818.
3. W. Bence Jones, 'Landowning as a Business' in Nineteenth Century, Mar 1882.
4. J.J. Mechi, How to farm Profitably, 4th edn, 1864, p.29.
5. Agricultural Holdings Act, 38 and 39 Vict.c.92, 1875.

tradition, they must be similar in many respects to what was listed in the Act of 1875, to elicit the criticisms which resulted.¹

Three classes of improvement were defined by the Act, each reflecting a different aspect of the landlord/tenant relationship. Anything which had a long term effect on the land, such as drainage, the making of gardens, roads or works of irrigation, meant that the tenant would have to enlist the aid of the landlord in their execution. These were termed 'first class improvements', and were those for which the landlord had to give his permission before they could be carried out.² On many estates, the arrangement was made that the tenant should provide his own labour while the landlord gave the materials, but there were infinite variations of this. Holderness describes how 'not infrequently... the agreement provided that the landlord should give half the materials while the tenant supplied all the labour, or that the tenant should do all but the major repairs, and the landlord merely put the farm in a fit state at the beginning of a lease, other things being done by negotiation, or at the expense of the tenant.'³

The evidence from Goodwood shows that many such first class improvements were undertaken during the fifties and sixties. Drainage had not been a problem on many farms because of the chalky nature of much of the soil, but Decoy Farm had problems because the stream occasionally flooded, and draining of some land was recommended to overcome the difficulty.⁴ Church Farm, in the same parish had similar problems, and on the coast, Felpham Farm was occasionally flooded.⁵ Building works of three main types figure in the accounts. First, there was scope for buildings which were new,

1. Agricultural Holdings Act, 38 and 39 Vict.c.92, 1875.

2. Ibid.

3. B.A.Holderness, 'Landlords' Capital Formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXV no.3, 1972, p.445.

4. Goodwood ms E5156, Valuation, 1859.

5. Goodwood ms E5155, Valuation, 1867.

and these can be counted as 'improvements' rather than maintenance, or 'contingencies', the term used at Goodwood. Cottages, stables, carhouses, pig styes and sheep pens were built on many of the farms. Farm houses were substantial and on some farms, new ones were built on sites which were more conveniently situated and more suited to the farm's needs. The second type of building work really covered repairs and maintenance, and would not be counted as 'first class improvements'. Walls and foundations were repaired, roofs replaced, and so on, but the result of the building work was not a change in function, nor an expansion of the resources available to a farm. The third type of building, conversions of existing buildings from one purpose to another could be classed as 'first class improvements', since they enabled some activity to take place, or to be increased to a level which had not been possible before. The coal house at Crockerhill was made out of an existing stable, and the cart shed at Langford Farm was altered to form an engine shed, for example.¹

Roads were improved, altered or made to meet the changing demands on the estate; fences were erected, wells sunk, and although little waste was reclaimed (the exception being Lavant Marsh which was enclosed in the mid fifties), the Duke and his tenant had to do constant battle against the sea at Felpham, the spray constantly damaging the crops, and occasionally worse disaster occurring, as in 1853, when the Duke paid compensation to the tenant for land swept away by the sea.² Nevertheless, despite landlord co-operation in first class improvements, the system did impose its own limitations by its very nature. At Goodwood, the tenants provided the labour

1. Goodwood ms E5154, Valuation, 1869.

2. Goodwood ms E5409, Sundry Payments 1853.

while the landlord donated the materials - but only within certain limits - and the system was strictly adhered to. A request from Henry Collins of Decoy Farm in 1858¹ asks for '3 galls oil, 2 galls turpentine, colouring for stone, half barrel tar.'. The reply points out that only the produce of the Estate can be supplied to tenants, and the effect of this would be to limit tenants to what was on offer, since paying commercial prices for materials would put many things out of the reach of tenants. Some idea of the difference of prices may be gained by comparing cost and selling prices from the Goodwood Brick Kilns. Building bricks could be produced for 7/6 per 1,000, and sold for 32/6; plain tiles cost 7/- for 1,000 and sold at 30/-, and fire bricks were made for 12/- per thousand, and sold for 55/-. Generally speaking, the selling price was four or five times that of the cost, and well worth the Estate's² time.

The system at Goodwood meant that new materials and products were not included in the range of materials offered to tenants, but the removal of the brick tax in 1850 opened the way for farmers to improve their units on great estates, where bricks and tiles were available from estate brick kilns. After the 1849-53 depression, a start was made on the rationalisation of buildings, on replacement and development as a result of the 1851 valuations, followed by the landlord's and tenants' repairs³ schedules of 1856. Both sets of documents contain indications of farmers requiring buildings in connection with livestock production. Some of the comments indicate new interests being taken up by tenants, and others indicate the need to approach old problems in new ways, notably with regard to the stalling, feeding and protection of

1. Goodwood ms E5084, Letter from H. Collins, 1858.
2. Goodwood ms E5112 Brick Kiln Documents, 1849.
3. Goodwood ms E5082, Requisition, 1857.

livestock. £400 was spent on Langford Farm's buildings after the 1851 reviews; 'a large sum was laid out' on the buildings at Drayton, and both hovel and stables were¹ being built on the Late Whites Farm in 1852. Sheep coops still needed repair, even after the £400 had been spent at Langford, and hog pounds were 'to be erected (there are none at present).'² On the downlands, William Fogden 'wants a hovel built as there is nowhere to keep the straw dry, or shelter for the cattle', at Droke Farm,³ and on East Lavant farm 'Arthur Upton wants a fowl house built.'³ On Strettington Farm on the lower slopes of the downs, there were 'no pig styes, but they are needed', and on the coastal plain farms, Groves and Drayton needed 'new hovel for stalling beasts...and a cottage needed for the man to feed fattening beasts', and at Barnham Farm, a door was needed in the wall to let animals out to the brook. The tenant of Selhurst Park claimed that he had erected dairy and cow pens, for which he claimed compensation, and the tenant of Crockerhill wanted a pump in his yard so that he would not have to drive his stock all the way to the pond. Decoy Farm already had its own dairy, but the surveyor stressed that a covered way was needed, walled in on⁴ each side, connecting the dairy with the house. On some of the farms, dairying seemed to be assuming greater importance, and the valuations create a picture of livestock farming, which was attaining greater significance with the tenants.

Taken with the evidence on buildings, the division of farmland between arable and pasture and down provides other clues as to the interests of the farmers. The most evenly balanced of all the farms in terms of arable and pasture was Fishbourne, with⁵ 49% arable and 48% pasture, the remainder being buildings and yards. The 1856

1. Goodwood ms E5081/2, E5154, Requisition, 1851.
2. Goodwood ms E5082, Requisition 1856.
3. Goodwood ms E5082, Requisition 1856.
4. Goodwood ms E5082, Requisition 1857.
5. See table 25.

valuation indicates that the farm was provided with stables, ox range, calf and pig pens, as might be expected with such a high degree of pasture - unusually large for the Goodwood estate.¹ In general, the farms contained more pasture than many advocates of high farming recommended as desirable. In Mechi's scheme of things, 4% of any farm should be made up of permanent pasture, but as early as 1851, the total pastureland at Goodwood on the tenant farms was a thousand acres, or 9%.² This may indicate an early shift in the direction of mixed farming: the laying down of permanent pasture took about ten years, had as its main purpose the fattening of cattle or sheep, and demanded high quality grass. Fattening counties were usually to be found on the roads to the new industrial centres, which would rule out West Sussex, but the county certainly played some part in the fattening of beasts. Jones described the fifties as a time of intensification of stall and yard fattening of cattle, and a spreading onto the chalk and limestone uplands of livestock enterprises where, until the 1840s, sheep had been the only stock.³ A microcosm of this process was what was happening at Goodwood, where most of the new buildings for stock were on the chalk uplands, and extension and repairs of existing buildings were often on the farms of the coastal plain.⁴

The evidence from Goodwood confirms Jones's findings and warns against Caird's tendency to generalise about the corn growing regions of the south. More livestock production may have been under way than his descriptions imply, and at Goodwood, the definition of pasture may be a contributory factor to this confusion. The 1851 figure of 9% pasture at Goodwood was already high, and Kerridge described the coastal

1. Ibid.

2. J.J.Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 4th edn. 1864, p.320.

3. E.L. Jones, 'The Changing Basis of English Agricultural Prosperity, 1853-73', in Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution, 1974, p.200.

4. See table 26.

plain of Sussex as somewhere 'where the fattening of lambs was at least equally
¹
important as the folding of sheep for corn.'. References to 'fattening beasts' in the
farm records show that the farmers were actually involved in livestock production, as
do the building requests and the accounts of the Home Farm. The accounts for 1853/4
show Henry Sadler of Langford purchased two heifers, one bull calf, one fat calf, a
²
cart filly and a cart colt during that year. Thomas Halsted bought twelve wethers
³
and tegs, and George Rusbridger bought eight fat lambs. The buying and selling
between landlord and tenant was a two way process, and the agent announced 'I have
also bought nine cattle from Robert Sadler which I will be able to sell again, with
⁴
profit, I hope.'

Nevertheless, although 9% pasture was recorded at Goodwood, this did not account for
all the grassland on the Estate. In all, 44% of the estate's tenanted farmland was
some form of grass which needs to be seen as a continuum, with high quality pasture
at one end. At the other was the sort of grassland attached to Stein Farm where
'much of the greater portion of down is of no value, being covered with wood, bushes,
⁵
heath, etc.'. The rest of the grassland lay somewhere between these two extremes,
and even where farms seemed to have very low percentages of pasture, usually other
⁶
grass was available. Of the seven farms on the estate which had less than Mechi's
recommended 4% pasture, five included large areas of down, which provided some
grazing. Only East Wittering and Birdham had no downland and very little pasture (3%
and 2% respectively) and were very heavily dependent on arable enterprises. There
was some movement towards the redistribution of grassland, and two of these seven

1. E.Kerridge, 'Ridge and Furrow in Agrarian History' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.IV no.1, 1951, p.14.
2. Goodwood ms E5304/5 Home Farm Accounts, 1853/4/5.
3. Goodwood ms E5304/5 Home Farm Accounts, 1853/4/5.
4. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, June 1853, p.219.
5. Goodwood ms E5414, memo from A.Hair, 1852.
6. J.J.Mechi, How to Farm Profitably, 4th edn. 1864, p.320.

farms benefited. In 1854, John Ewens of Charlton took on some extra pasture in the forest, and when some of the land from Raughmere was split, 53 acres went to East Lavant Farm which had had none up to this point. As the estate's grasslands totalled 44% of the tenanted, farmed acreage in 1851, it is perhaps not surprising that there is little evidence of large scale moves to add yet more to the farms of the 1860s.¹ All these changes were categorised as first class improvements, but there were other classes of improvement in the Agricultural Holdings Act.

Second Class improvements included boning, chalking and claying of land, marling and clay burning.² It is impossible to estimate how common was the practice of notifying the landowner of such improvements before the Act was passed. After it became law, tenants were required to give prior notification that such improvements were about to be carried out, and it would still have been possible for landlords who disapproved to attempt to influence tenants, or to try to stop the proposed action from taking place. This would have been quite easy if the landlord was being asked to provide the materials. There are instances of improvements on this list taking place at Goodwood in the 1860s, when a certain amount of chalking was recommended, (Raughmere, 1865 and Easthampnett 1869, for example),³ but it is possible that at this stage, such improvements merely needed the verbal consent of the agent, unlike improvements in the first class list. The giving of prior notice did not guarantee that the improvement would take place, particularly if the request came from the landlord. On Crockerhill Farm in 1869, the surveyor recommended that eight fields should be chalked at a rate of 5 or 6 acres per year, but an inspection some twelve years later

1. Goodwood ms E5409, 1853; Goodwood ms E19, 1854.

2. Agricultural Holdings Act, 38 and 39 Vict.c.92, 1875.

3. Goodwood ms E5156, Farm Valuation, 1865; Goodwood ms E5156, Valuation, 1869.

revealed that the undertaking had been abandoned after only four fields had been
1
completed. The materials were obtained locally 'mainly from Halnaker Pit, but some
from Summers Lane.' In the absence of written records, the agent had taken down 'a
statement as to the chalking done on Easthampnett Farm, made to me by J. Trustler and
2
Coate, labourers on the farm.'.

The final group of improvements defined by the Act under the heading of third class
improvements, were those which the tenant could carry out at will, and involved the
purchase of artificial and other manures, consumption on the holding by cattle, sheep
or pigs of cake or other feedstuffs not produced on the farm. One relevant list
which survives from Crockerhill Farm itemises goods ordered collectively by the
farmers, and a detailed statement of oilcakes and artificial manures, showing that
3
superphosphates and cotton cake were amongst the produce consumed.

From the available evidence, it seems that the kind of improvement which the
Agricultural Holdings Act later confirmed as appropriate was taking place at
Goodwood, and that improvement under the fifth Duke grew out of a tradition which had
been established in his uncle's time. Nonetheless, for landlord and tenant to
negotiate effectively, the role of the farmer had to change. Still there had to be
dependence on the landlord and a resisting of notions of equality: Bence Jones's
suggestion that 'they are simply two men dealing with one another in a matter of
4
business' would have been foreign to Richmond. He owned the land after all, and
talked much of 'the station in life to which God has called me' but nevertheless,

1. Goodwood ms E5156, Valuation, 1869; Goodwood ms E5083, statement to agent Feb 15, 1881.
2. Goodwood ms E5083, statement to agent Feb 15, 1881.
3. Goodwood ms E5083, List, 1880.
4. W. Bence Jones 'Landowning as a Business', in Nineteenth Century, Mar 1882.

more initiative was called for on the part of the tenant.¹ It is clear from the material that Sussex was not 'in the vanguard of agricultural progress' which characterised the East Anglian farming on which Holderness based his conclusions, yet improvement was taking place on the estate.² The apparent stability of the 1850s, 60s and early 70s concealed subtle shifts and pressures which affected tenant roles as the decades progressed. The changes in role were associated with moves towards larger scale farming, the separation of farm management from farm labour, and a more dynamic approach to agricultural practice.

Holderness has identified two factors which affected the farmer's changing role as being accomplished by 1850.³ These were the amalgamation of small farms into larger units, and the completion of major building programmes, except in areas like the Weald, where heavy clay had hindered development. Yet there is much evidence from the Goodwood Papers to indicate that these processes were far from complete by 1850, and that regional factors may have been significant in influencing the rate at which change took place. The organisation of farmland at Goodwood, and practices on the Estate with regard to leases and capital are significant because they provide the framework within which the tenant farmers operated.

2. MANAGEMENT'S APPROACHES TO TENANT FARMS AT GOODWOOD: FARM SIZE AND LEASES

The organisation of farmland at Goodwood was inherited from the past. Buildings, farm size and lay-out were the remnants of previous ages which passed on anomalies as well as advantages. As late as 1869 for example, Droke Farm's fields were still

1. S.A.E. June 14, 1856.

2. B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian Farmer' in Mingay (ed) The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.230.

3. Ibid.

inconveniently mixed with Glebe lands, and the land in South Bersted was still 'very
¹
much detached' from the farm at Felpham. Such changes as the management chose to
make in organisation are indicative of the order of priorities held by the estate,
and helped to define the role of the tenant.

Farm size was significant because it represented an important element in the move
away from the small farmer whose family provided the labour force, supplemented by
labourers who lived in the farmhouse, to the entrepreneurial tenant who, according to
Mills, 'was a man of substantial means whose enterprises depended on hired labour;
²
many such farmers did little or no manual work.'. Earlier in the century, success as
a tenant had been a necessary prerequisite to becoming a small owner, but as the
century progressed, tenant farming was becoming more of an end in itself, demanding
more capital, skill and a different approach to farming. Appropriate for the
commercialisation of farming as an enterprise was the division of farming management
from labouring in the fields, and hence the tendency towards larger farms.

Holderness's statement that 'the work of arranging farmholdings of optimum size for
maximum exploitation of cereal and livestock production had largely been done by the
time of Repeal' is not borne out by the developments at Goodwood.
³
It is true that the practice of putting farms together on the estate was not new: the Goodwood agent
himself farmed Holt's place and Church Farms at East Wittering, and had done so since
⁴
at least 1835. He paid only one rent, and the two farms were treated as an entity. A
further example was to be found in the two farms at Adsdean and Funtington, which

1. Goodwood ms E5154/6, Valuation of Felpham Farm, 1869.

2. D. Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.28.

3. B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian Farmer' in Mingay (ed) The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.230.

4. Goodwood ms E5255/6, 1835.

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were farmed as one, and then sold in 1850. Yet the changes which occurred in the 1850s and 60s indicate that this process was far from complete, and other factors confirmed and reinforced the new amalgamations as more permanent units than they had been in the past.

The system of 'large, middle sized and small holdings' to which Holderness refers as existing on more enlightened estates was, to some extent, to be found at Goodwood,² although there were very few small farms. In 1850, farms varied from the 43 acres of Strettington Little Farm to one of the East Dean farms, which covered 1,152 acres.³ Jefferies suggested in the mid century that acreage was an inappropriate way of defining whether a farm was large or small, for 'There are many farms which, judged by the number of acres would be considered large, and yet which, when tested by their capabilities for maintaining stock are really small.'⁴ However, contemporaries tended to use acreage for this purpose, and as such information is available at Goodwood and elsewhere, and can be used objectively, in this study acreage will be used as a measure of whether a farm was large or small.

Nearly two thirds of the Goodwood farms were under 300 acres(that is small, or medium farms according to Caird's definition), and only a dozen were over 300 acres,⁵ and in Caird's terms, large. Marshall suggests that there was a national trend of increasing farm sizes at this time, and that it was largely a result of pressure from landlords and agents who preferred to operate a smaller number of units which presented fewer management problems: certainly there were none of the very small

1. Goodwood ms E5256, 1825, 1835, 1840.

2. B.A.Holderness, op. cit. p.230.

3. See table 24.

4. R. Jefferies 'The Size of Farms', 1874 in Landscape and Labour, 1979, p.123.

5. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1880, p.58; See Table 27.

units of 10-30 acres which Davies found in Cheshire. Nor were there many of the small farms of 20-100 acres which Dean suggested all landed estates should provide to enable 'skilful and meritorious husbandmen to raise themselves to the rank of small farmer.', and given Richmond's social philosophy of the station to which each man was born, it is perhaps not surprising that avenues of upward mobility such as this would not exist.² There are indeed in the Goodwood Papers, indications of decisions to enlarge some farms at the expense of others: the division of St Mary's Farm, Boxgrove in 1853, and the absorption of Strettington Little Farm around 1856 seem to support Marshall's theory.³ The average farm size on the Estate was slightly larger in 1870⁴ than it had been twenty years earlier, in line with the national trend.

Despite the fact that increase in the size of farms on the Estate took place, other uncertainties remain. Did all types of farm increase? Did the small farms suffer at the expense of the large, or was there an increase in the overall acreage, resulting in a general enlargement of most farms. Beckett points out that 'the tone of both contemporary and historical writing has implied that the creation of large farms was a universal aim among landlords.'⁵ Certainly from the 1780s, a succession of writers had argued that an overall increase in farm size would be bound to lead to efficiency. In contrast, another school of thought took the ideas of William Marshall, arguing that those of 200-300 acres were the most efficient.⁶ Caird expressed no strong opinions on farm size, and Morton suggested that size should be determined by the tenantry, with capital as the deciding factor.⁷

1. D. Marshall, Industrial England 1776-1851, 1973, p.70; C.S. Davies, The Agricultural History of Cheshire, 1750-1850. Unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Manchester, 1953, Preface.
2. G.A. Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, p.93.
3. Goodwood ms E5155, Valuation 1853; E5156, Valuation 1856.
4. See Table 28.
5. J.V.Beckett, 'The debate over farm size in 19th century England.' Aq Hist vol.5 no.3, 1983, p.311.
6. W. Marshall, On the Management of Landed Estates, 1806,
7. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1880, p.58; J. Morton, The Resources of Estates, 1858, pp.117-9.

On the whole, the evidence from Goodwood seems to indicate that farm land was redistributed within the Estate, or that rationalisation took place as a result of buying or selling land in an attempt to make the Estate more compact. In 1850, the Estate consisted of 17,000 acres, stretching from the parish of Bosham in the west to Barnham in the east.¹ Northwards, the Estate reached to Singleton and East Dean, and although an Estate of broken lands, it stretched to the coast at Felpham, East Wittering and Birdham. The total remained more or less constant for the following twenty years, and there is no sign of Carlton's indication that 'As the Golden Age of British farming dawned in the 1850s, the agricultural acreage expanded to capitalise on the high cereal and livestock prices.'² Perhaps the internal organisation at Goodwood might best be illustrated by looking at farms according to size.

Ten farms were smaller than 150 acres in 1850, and all but three of these were on the coastal plain,³ the others being on the south facing lower slopes of the downs. By 1870, only three remained as they had been, and two of these were farmed by members of the same family, possibly being farmed together, although they did make separate rent returns. Of the remaining seven, three were sold, two were amalgamated, and two were split between other farms. The dividing of St Mary's and of Strettington is contrary to what might be expected: 142 acres is the kind of size the farms were moving to, although a little on the small side, but amalgamation of the two would have added to the value of the farm.⁴ This might have necessitated some exchange of land amongst the Goodwood farmers to make convenient and adjacent units, but this was quite common, and carried out on several occasions during the fifties.

1. Goodwood ms E5154, Valuation 1851.

2. F. Carlton, 'A substantial and Sterling Friend to the Labouring Man.' Unpub. M.Phil. thesis, Sussex, 1977, p.20.

3. See table 27.

4. Goodwood ms E5155, Valuation 1853; E5156, Valuation 1856.

Two farms were amalgamated: Old House and Birdham on the coast, and the new farmer¹ administered both units as one, taking Birdham Farmhouse as his base. If this happened at Birdham, why were St Mary's and Strettington Little not treated in the same way? The reason may in part be geographical: Old House and Birdham were situated on the coastal plain where the soil quality made them very desirable units. Easy to till, the soil never caked and retained both heat and moisture. From the 14th century, it had been an area of some wealth 'resting on a sheep and corn husbandry in exceptionally favoured circumstances', and the land could be laid out to arable or pasture, although mid century agriculturists generally thought 'more money² was to be made on such soils by arable than by pasture farming.'. When the vacancy occurred at Old House, a tenant with capital was 'speedily found from outside the³ Estate, although an existing tenant had also made an offer. There was no attempt to dispose of the farms on the coastal plain, despite the fact that some were detached by several miles from the main body of the estate.

The state of farms may also have had some bearing on the decision to split St Mary's and Strettington Little. The Stamp's Farm has already been described, and Strettington Little was tenanted in 1851 by a man who 'is in arrear and not likely to⁴ do well at any rent. The farm is worth much more than the sum put down as an addition to the Goodwood Farm.'. Much of the land was subsequently absorbed by the Home Farm, and the barn and lambing yard became part of adjacent Westerton Farm. The farmhouse was inferior to that at Westerton, and became listed as one of the cottages⁵ belonging to that farm. St Mary's followed the same pattern: a tenant in arrears, an

1. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to T.Balmer, May 26 1853.

2. H.C. Darby, A New Historical Geography of England, 1973, p.166; T. Rowlandson, 'The Agricultural Geography of England and Wales', Journal of Agriculture, 1851-3, p.619.

3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, T.Balmer to W.Gibbs Feb 10, 1853; R.Arras to T.Balmer May 26 1853.

4. Goodwood ms E5082, Memo from A.Hair.

5. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish 1861.

assessment by the secretary and a report that the farm should be split, and by 1853, the 142 acre farm had been divided between Boxgrove, Strettington and the Home Farm.

Of the 13 farms between 151 and 300 acres ('medium' in size), several were already the result of amalgamations - South Bersted and Felpham were farmed together, as were¹ the two East Wittering Farms. By 1870, four new farms had entered this category as a result of purchase or enlargement, and two had left it, having been amalgamated to form one unit of 587 acres. The average size of the unit amongst the medium farms² was increased to 245 acres, compared with 225 acres in 1850. The majority of these farms were situated on the south facing slopes of the lower downs, and a few were on the coastal plain. The adjacent situation of farms made reorganisation possible - interchanges between Warehead, Late Whites, Boxgrove, Westerton and Westhampnett were common. Unusual was the situation at Felpham Farm, where the land in South Bersted was 'much detached', and involved the farmer in the oversight of a split site farm in³ two parishes. More logical was the purchase of Drayton Farm in Merston and Oving Parishes in 1850, and according to the secretary, 'a large sum has been laid out' on this by 1852. It was put with Groves Farm, which the estate already owned, and the two were farmed as one unit. Perhaps the rationale behind the policy of buying and selling farmland is best summed up in a letter from the Duke's valuer, Wyatt in the mid fifties. Discussing exchanges of lands between the Duke and C.J.Marshall in Felpham, Wyatt, recommends the exchange of 43 of the Duke's acres for 53 of Marshall's 'as it would condense your estate, enlarge your area, and increase your⁴ rental.'.

1. Goodwood ms E5082, E5154, Letter from Wyatt to Richmond.

2. See table 28.

3. Goodwood ms E5156 Valuation, 1869.

4. Goodwood ms E5156, letter from E.Wyatt to Richmond n.d..

Twelve farms on the Goodwood Estate were over 300 acres in 1850, more than half of these with acreages of over 750 acres, and all of them situated with parts of their land on the high down.¹ The short, tufty grasses were ideal for sheep, but on the whole, the downland farms remained unhospitable. Although 1,100 feet was thought to be the height at which it was absolutely impossible for wheat to ripen, the additional expense on the downs at Goodwood in terms of time and labour, and the poor thin crops which resulted also made it an undesirable investment at heights below that. Despite the drawbacks, there is evidence that some farms in the district engaged in what Farncombe called 'the mistaken practice generally followed in this district of sowing too much wheat...it is better to confine the quantity sown to that which can be done well.'² In the years when arable farming made more profit than livestock, there is evidence that at Goodwood the hilly nature of the farms made them 'expensive to cultivate' and the best approach to downland farming was to leave the high down to sheep.³ By the mid seventies, however, Jefferies pointed out that the increasing value of sheep had stimulated the hill farmers to grow roots for feed.⁴ This development of one of the most labour intensive crops, and the growing capacity of sheep to generate more income, might explain why the downland farms did not increase in size. By 1870, there were only ten farms with more than 300 acres, the most significant drop being in those farms with over 750 acres, where the seven of 1850 had fallen to two (or possibly three) by 1870.⁵

The evidence shows that the process of amalgamation and reorganisation at Goodwood was something which was still under way in the fifties and sixties, supporting

1. See table 28.

2. J. Farncombe, 'On the Farming of Sussex' in J.R.A.S. vol.11, 1850, p.125.

3. Goodwood ms E5149, Valuation, 1845.

4. R. Jefferies, 'The Size of Farms', 1874 in Landscape and Labour, 1979, p.125.

5. See table 28.

Mills's description of this as a gradual change. Holderness's description of East Anglia, where this process was largely complete by 1850 is supported by other
 2
 writers. Davies found that the decade of the 1820s was particularly significant on
 3
 Admiral Tollemarche's estate in Cheshire, for example. At Goodwood, the overall movement was towards medium sized farms, and away from very small or very large units. Jefferies thought that 'the size of a useful farm may be put at 250 acres at the lowest', Beastall describes the 'minimum acreage needed for real profit' in Lincolnshire in the mid century as 300 acres, and Thompson points out that 300 acres
 4
 was the minimum size at which farms were suited to High Farming. Although the greatest number of farms seems to have been in the range of 150-200 acres, even these were subject to amalgamation, and Oldwick Farm was put with Stoke in 1871 to make a
 5
 farm of over 800 acres. Two other farms in this range, Warehead and Late Whites (153 and 255 acres respectively) were put together in the early 1850s. What made the amalgamations in the mid century seem more permanent than those which had preceded them was the boom in buildings, which confirmed the rationalisation of the distribution of land by permanent, brick built farm houses and outbuildings. Substantial farm houses were built, often in the most convenient spot for the new farm, as in the case of Warehead Farm where the outbuildings were also redesigned. Old buildings were sometimes demolished entirely, reinforcing visually the creation of the new farm, and removing the evidence of the old.

It is also clear that the process of rationalisation involved a mixture of sale and purchase, exchange and redistribution of land to make a more compact estate with more

1. D. Mills, Lord and Peasant in 19th Century Britain, 1980, p.29.

2. B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian Farmer' in G.E. Mingay (ed) The Victorian Countryside, 1981,p.230.

3. C.S. Davies, The Agricultural History of Cheshire,1750-1850. Unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Univ. of Manchester, 1953, p.22.

4. R. Jefferies 'The Size of Farms', 1874 in Landscape and Labour, 1979, p.133; T.W. Beastall, Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire, 1978, p. p.180; F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968, pp.63-72.

5. See table 28.

conveniently situated (and therefore perhaps more desirable) farms. This shows that Goodwood had anticipated Dean's suggestion of 1872 that landed estates 'In many instances...may be enhanced in value by the increase or diminution of the size of farms, and in making them compact.'¹

This may in part explain why not all the small farms were treated in the same way, although several factors were at work in this. Significant among them was the geographical position of the farms in relation to the rest of the Estate. Once the Adsdean and Funtington units had been sold in 1850, this left Fishbourne Farm as an isolated pocket of land of 99 acres in Bosham parish to the west of Chichester, and its sale in 1856 seems a logical step in the rationalisation process.² The retaining of a geographically compact estate was highly desirable in the maintaining of a paternalistic framework which enabled a landowner to develop his face to face contact with the members of the estate community, something which the fifth Duke had constantly stressed, and which was emphasised in Chapter Three. This was more important than pure economics. The farms on the coastal plain brought in a higher rental, and would be more likely to attract tenants with capital, since the soil was rich and the farming prospects more attractive than on the dowland, but this did not prevent Fishbourne and Felpham from being sold.³ On the other hand, there was no deliberate policy to sell off such farms, and Birdham, East Wittering and Barnham were amongst those farms which, though physically detached from the rest of the Estate, remained part of the Goodwood Estate.

Population movement also seems to have had a bearing on the way in which farms were

1. G.A. Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, p.93.
2. See table 29; Goodwood Papers E6104, Agent's Letter Book, 18/3/53.
3. Goodwood ms E5255 Valuation, 1856.

treated, supporting what P.F. Michael found in Merioneth, where a higher incidence of¹ rationalisation took place where there was rapid depopulation. Many of the farms which contained Goodwood parishes had reached their population peaks, and the number of inhabitants was already falling by the mid nineteenth century. Birdham and Boxgrove had reached maximum numbers in 1821; Merston in 1831, Tangmere, East Dean,² Oving and East Wittering in 1841 and East Lavant and Westhampnett in 1851. Those which were still growing were in the Bognor/Felpham area - desirable because Bognor was the fastest growing town in the region - and villages such as Fishbourne, which were along the route of the railway which ran from the eastern Sussex resort towns, through Brighton to Chichester and on to Portsmouth.

The rationalisation process was more important than the retaining of individual units, and this suggests a concern for development rather than preservation: the Estate was seen as a changing and developing entity rather than as an unchanging, static inheritance. The desire for development may have been the factor which led the management to vary in its treatment of the farmers. On some estates, eviction of unsuitable tenants was carried out in the hope of improving farming standards, and there is evidence of this as close as the Cowdray Estate. Old House Farm at Cocking was farmed by Joseph Underwood, but 'when it became evident by his bad management³ that he could not be retained as a tenant...the farm came into hand accordingly.'. Seven years later, on the same farm, 'George Harris having proved an inferior tenant⁴ had notice at this time to quit at Michelmass next.'. This policy might have been carried out in the hope of attracting men of capital, energy and skill to the

1. Michael P.F. Tenant Farming in Merioneth; Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Wales, 1978, p.249.

2. See table 30.

3. Cowdray ms, Rental, Lady Day, 1848.

4. Ibid. Lady Day, 1855.

tenancies, for it was more likely such men would be attracted to tenancies on estates, than would be found as owner/occupiers in Sussex. Yelling's Common Field of 1887 estimated that 20-29% of Sussex farmland was in small farms, but these units were more likely to have been in the Weald area, and would have been unlikely to attract the new style farmers.

It is possible that estate farms were more attractive to the new style farmers, partly because they could save on labour costs by making economies of scale. Jefferies thought 800 acres was the minimum size at which such economies could be made, and Beastall suggests that real profits were to be made on Lincolnshire farms of 2,000 acres and above. In Lincolnshire, Beastall describes the tendency on Lord Monson's estate towards larger farms in an area where farm sizes were, on the whole, more modest, and where 40% of the estate was in farms of 500 acres and above. The pattern of farms at Goodwood which has been described tended towards that of Hampshire and the chalk downs, rather than the rest of Sussex, and there is evidence of several new farmers coming from the west to take up the Goodwood farms when they fell vacant.

In addition to an adequate size of unit the new style farmer needed security of tenure. The workings of the English system had depended little on written agreements or legislation, and more on the common agreement and shared understanding of landlord and tenant. Low argued in 1844 that this had resulted in the stocking of farms 'to a degree unknown in any other country in Europe.'. Nevertheless, the changing

1. J.A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850, 1977, p.98.
2. T.W. Beastall, Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire, 1978, p.181.
3. J.A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850, 1977,
4. R. Jefferies 'The Size of Farms', 1874 in Landscape and Labour, 1979, p.133.
5. See table 31.
6. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.5.

situation in farming, geographical mobility and the demand for more capital meant that it became necessary for such factors as the letting of land to be itemised more carefully in writing. Low listed the necessary conditions for a productive landlord/tenant relationship as fair rents, suitable conditions with respect to methods of cultivation and general management, and adequate provision of fixed capital in buildings, enclosures and so on.¹ Yet before all these, and an essential prerequisite was security of possession, and many took this to mean a lease. Some writers saw the granting of long leases as essential in providing security for tenants and as a safeguard against model landlords being replaced by cruel spendthrifts. Retrospectively too, the Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society criticised English landlords for being slow to grant long leases, and along with high rents, identified insecurity as the greatest of the farmer's handicaps.

At Goodwood no leases survive for the period, and it seems likely that the estate conformed to the national norm where 'by 1850, the majority of British tenants were covered by yearly lettings.'² There are indications that leases at Goodwood may only have been issued at this time at the request of incoming tenants. In 1851, a tenant from Hampshire taking up a Goodwood tenancy was told 'There will be no objection to giving a lease upon the condition that the rent shall rise should the price of wheat rise.'³ The agent offered the tenant three ways in which he might choose to take the farm:

'1. With a lease which included an extra field at a rent of £300, plus £25 should the price of wheat rise above 48/-;

1. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.5.

2. B.A. Holderness 'The Victorian Farmer' in Mingay (ed), The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.234.

3. Goodwood ms, E5084 Letter to H. Collins, 1858.

2. With a lease for the farm at £300 plus Stapley's valuation of Kent's field;¹
3. Yearly tenancy at £300 but paying further rents for fields as above.'.

A clear distinction is made here between a lease and a yearly tenancy, but no length of lease is quoted. Richmond's attitude probably sprang from his paternalistic philosophy, and rather than rely on written agreements, the bonds which tied the rural community together would be sufficient to give the tenant security of possession. Further, there are doubts as to whether this represented an archaic approach. Michael's work implies that seeing the process of unwritten agreement giving way to long leases where more progressive attitudes to landlord/tenant relationships existed needs careful consideration.² In Merioneth, yearly tenancies were the norm from 1850, long leases (21 years, a life or three lives being common before the 19th century)³ having fallen out of favour. On this basis, the idea that the move from custom and verbal agreement and towards written agreements reflected the professionalisation of estate management, described in the previous chapter, is not appropriate. As long as face to face contact could be relied on, a landowner such as Richmond wanted to retain flexibility to make the best arrangement for an individual farmer. Thus rent abatements were awarded individually, requests from farmers to the agent asked for special arrangements to be made, farm amalgamations and redistribution of land was done on an individual basis, and as long as the 'old social bonds' existed, flexibility was in the interest of the landlord and of the tenant.⁴

1. Goodwood ms, E5084 Letter to H. Collins, 1858.

2. P.F. Michael, Tenant Farming in Merioneth, 1850-1925. Unpub.M.A.thesis, Univ.of Wales, 1978, p.166.

3. Ibid.

4. S.A.E. June 5, 1847, Dec. 17, 1853, June 14, 1856.

Whilst an estate retained close landlord/tenant relationships, the survival of non-written agreements can be seen in the governing of certain practices by expectation based on custom. When the tenant of Langford Farm expected the carriage of materials for building repairs to be paid for by the landlord the agent pointed out that the carriage was to be done by tenants, and for his authority, quoted that 'the principle always was' and underlined its unshakeable nature by adding that if¹ the farmer refused to do this, the building could not be done. In the formal leases, (the first surviving one dates from 1883), this unwritten law became crystallised and² formed part of the written agreement. A clause placed on the tenant the obligation of carrying materials for repairs provided by the landlord 'at a distance within seven miles of the farm,' or in the case of farms more distantly situated, and the³ Goodwood Saw Mills, the transport to be paid for by the tenant. Another custom was the obligation on the farmers to provide straw for thatching - particularly at the Goodwood Brick Kilns - with an unwritten, but clearly understood amount being expected. The agent wrote to Halstead at Woodcote Farm asking for straw for such a purpose, 'and as I find you are more than two years in arrears for straw, I wish you could supply some - about 5 or 500 trusses are required.'. This was a custom which was not incorporated into the formal leases, tiling, rather than thatching having⁴ become common, even on outbuildings.

It shows, however, that the overall farming situation has to be borne in mind when trying to detect the obligations of the tenants and the responsibilities of the landlord (that is to say, the 'unwritten lease') from the formal lease as it was

1. Goodwood ms Lease, E5084/9, 1883.

2. Ibid.

3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, T.Balmer to T.Halstead, Jan 18, 1853.

4. Goodwood ms Lease, E5084/9, 1883.

introduced later in the century. A clause dealing with timber on the farms forbids the cutting of any wood under eight years old; requires one month's notice of all cutting to be given to the landlord, and a provision that he could mark any particular tree to stand. This confirms the earlier practice of writing to ask permission to cut trees on the farms. It seems likely that some of the unwritten (and later written) clauses were, in part, to curb the tenants' autonomy, reflecting the landlord's relationship with his own estate. Restricted as he was by the actions of earlier generations, he was constantly reminded that 'an estate extends¹ not only in space, but also in time' and this was true of the farms also.

The landlord/tenant schedules of repairs from the years 1856/7 mark a step towards formalising the relationship, and the farm valuations of the late 1860s indicate a further development in the direction of providing formal leases for all the tenants. The surveyor recommended that farming covenants in any leases 'should be as liberal as possible in their cultivation clauses', whilst safeguarding the management in times of tenancy change by stipulating that the tenants should leave farms in a certain rotation of cropping, the only obligation on ongoing farming was that 'The tenant shall cultivate and manage the arable lands in a husbandlike manner and shall² keep the said lands clean and in good heart.'. During the last four years of the tenancy, however, farming was to be on a four course rotation: a quarter fallow or³ roots, a quarter lent corn, a quarter clover or grass and a quarter wheat. In addition a penalty clause allowed the landlord to impose fines of up to £50 for every acre of pasture or meadow which was broken up, and £20 for arable land sown contrary

1. D.R. Denman, Estate Capital, 1959, p.19.

2. Goodwood ms Lease, E5089, 1883.

3. Ibid.

to agreement. In this sense, leases might be more restrictive than yearly tenancies.

The length of the leases was significant. Of the surviving Goodwood leases from the 1880s, one was for 14 years, two for seven, two for five, and the remaining three for one year only. If the restrictions on the last four years of the tenancy dictated what the tenant should sow, this gave these tenants ten years of freedom in one case, three in another, one in a third, and none at all for the yearly tenancies. Further, negotiation for the continuation of the lease was to take place two years before the expiry date, so even if tenants hoped to continue, they had to embark on a four course rotation in the fourth and third years before expiry just in case the lease was not renewed.

Yet not everyone agreed that leases should be statutory. The Duke of Richmond thought that legislation was no substitute for a good landlord/tenant relationship, and resisted any compulsion on the landlord. When supporting the Landlord/Tenant Bill of 1845, he made the point that he only did so because he 'did not believe that the Bill would tend to dissolve the ties happily subsisting between landlord and tenant', which at Goodwood arose from the security of the landlord/tenant roles and expectations, resting securely on paternalistic understanding and practice. Richmond was quick to stress the need for direct interaction between the parties. In a speech to the Royal Northern Agricultural Society, having given advice about landlords encouraging their tenants, he concluded 'and what was more than all, that the tenant should know his landlord personally, and not through his factor.'. In that sense, the strength of the landlord/tenant relationship at Goodwood worked against the

1. Hansard ser.3, vol.lxxxi, Jn/Jy 1845, p.1205.

2. Sussex Advertiser Aug 27, 1850.

introduction of leases for 'on old estates, the feeling of confidence in fair treatment is so general that tenants often lay out their money on landlord's work without security.', and such attitudes were satirised: 'I haven't a farmer on my property with a lease - not one, and they don't want leases. They know they're¹ safe.'. Although some would have looked on this as reactionary at the time, Adams's work suggests that one year tenancies in the East Riding provided no obstacle to² improvement in the years 1850-80.

As long as the mutual understanding of landlord and tenant survived, the security of the old system could provide support. Once Protection had gone, and whilst leases were far from universal, the landlord/tenant relationship assumed new importance. Richmond resisted the idea that legislation was the way forward, and argued that the old system (i.e. one which gave the tenant less legal protection) was actually better for the farmer. His trust in custom was absolute. Mutual understanding by each party in an agreement of how things ought to be done would provide all the security necessary, for 'Much as he approved of leases, he did not think it a subject upon which the legislature ought to pass any positive enactment compulsory upon the proprietors of land, but he was of the opinion that this Bill (that is the Landlord's and Tenants' Bill of 1845) would at all events tend to secure some of the³ objects desired.'. His own agent revealed how obligations could be set aside by the management at will: the law of valuation allowed some measure of protection for tenants by allowing 'something for dung and mangolds upon a change of tenant', but this was not binding on the landlord, and in one case in 1853, the Goodwood agent

1. A. Trollope, Phineas Finn, 1869, p.338.

2. M. Adams, Agricultural change in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1850-1880: an economic and social history. Unpub. Ph.D.thesis, Hull, 1976, p.298.

3. Hansard ser.3, vol.lxxxi, Jn/Jy 1845, p.1205.

declared he proposed to ignore this 'in order not to disadvantage the incoming tenant.'

On the whole, the fifth Duke placed his faith in the understanding of tenant right, which was generally recognised in Sussex. Caird quoted the county as one of the few¹ in which tenant right was fully understood. The Duke of Richmond wanted to proceed cautiously, and was at first concerned to deal with those parts of England in which 'the compensating of tenants for liming, chalking etc. did not prevail, and he² considered that the advantage should be extended to all.'. Where tenant right was understood and fully put into practice, the security which resulted on some of the older estates meant that some of the tenancies remained within the same family for several generations. The Newmans at Singleton, the Rusbridgers at East Wittering and Westerton Farms, the New Family at Barnham and the Bayleys at Tangmere and Warehead all had tenancies which extended through at least two generations in the nineteenth³ century. The problem with hereditary tenancies was that the high degree of security could lead to a lack of energy in the farming, and could thus be a barrier to improvement. Under the old farming systems, where farm labour was often family labour, other members of the family, besides the named tenant, would be involved in the working of a farm. It might be difficult for the farmer to go elsewhere to see good practice, or to get to shows, and it was much easier for the farm to continue as it had in the past. Low described such tenancies as 'tenancy by habit' which inspired a certain kind of confidence, but would not induce men 'to spend capital on the land with that sense of security and independence which is the soul of industry⁴ and exertion.'.

1. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to T. Balmer. May 4, 1853.
2. J. Caird, English Farming, 1850-1851, 1852, pp.500-509.
3. Hansard ser.3, vol.lxxxix Jn/Jy 1845, p.1207.
4. Goodwood ms E5255/6, Cashbooks, 1818-51.
5. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p19.

Nevertheless, such tenancies need not be a bar to improvement in the absence of leases, and one of the best examples of this is the Fogden family, who had farmed various parts of the Estate since at least 1818, and one member of the family was¹ still there in the 1880s. Five members of the family were recorded as tenants between these dates, and they occupied three farms in the parishes of Boxgrove and East Dean. In 1818, Thomas Fogden farmed Strettington Farm in Boxgrove parish, a small farm of between one and two hundred acres which lay beside Stane Street on the lower slopes of the downs and consisted largely of arable land, with a little pasture. Seven years later, he took on Stein Farm, a much larger holding to the north of East Dean village, which extended over the high downland. His son William's tenancy of the third farm, Droke, began in 1835 and remained in the family until at least 1869. Thomas Fogden senior died in the early 1840s, and after a revaluation of Strettington, the tenancy was transferred in 1845 to his son, Alexander. That of Stein Farm went to another son, Edmund, and on the death of William in 1859, Droke² Farm passed to Thomas Fogden junior.

Some writers feared that hereditary tenancies worked against efficiency and improvement as a result of poor management and an unquestioning acceptance of traditional practices, but this was not necessarily so. Low pointed out that the son of a poor tenant might not inherit his father's poor tendencies and habits,³ especially if the landlord provided schools to which the children might go. For older pupils, the National Agricultural College had been created originally 'for the sons of tenant farmers' but proved a disappointment in some respects for, as early as

1. Goodwood ms E5256,E5149,E5154, Cashbooks, Valuations, 1818ff.

2. Ibid.

3. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p19.

1850, Caird recorded that 'that class do not appear to have availed themselves of the
¹
 advantages thus held out to them, nor was it altogether adapted for them.'. Still,
 the sons of farming families need not show inefficiency and a reluctance to change.
 In the valuations of the late 1860s, Alexander Fogden was one of only a handful of
 tenants to receive praise for his farming. Strettington Farm was not particularly
 favoured by its position, but the note on it records that 'the farm is exceptionally
²
 well farmed, and is remarkably clean.'. The secretary's notes on Stein Farm record
 that Edmund Fogden requested improvements to his farmhouse in the early fifties, but
 also complained of much damage done by rabbits, and it seems that he was having
³
 difficulty in making the farm pay during the 1849-53 depression. Stein was one of
 only six farms to be faced with a rent rise after the 1851 reviews, and Dr Hair
 commented 'This tenant may decline to hold out the rise, if he does the farm will be
⁴
 difficult to let as it is not very desirable.'. In 1853, Edmund Fogden left Stein
 and moved to another farm - not one owned by the estate - this time, situated on the
⁵
 rich loam of the coastal plain. His successes with root crops in local shows
 indicate a measure of competence, and it seems more likely that the unpromising soil
 of the downland farm, and the fact that the buildings were 'old and inconveniently
⁶
 situated' led to the move, rather than an unenergetic tenant. If this was the case,
 however, it seems strange that he was not offered one of the other Goodwood tenancies
 - Old House or Birdham perhaps, which were both vacant at this time.

It was not against Estate policy for such moves as this to take place, as illustrated
 by the Duke family, who also farmed several of the Estate's farms at one time or

1. J. Caird, English Agriculture 1850-1851, 1852 p.37.
2. Goodwood ms E5156, Valuation, 1869.
3. Goodwood ms E5154, memo from A. Hair, 1851.
4. Ibid.
5. Census Returns, Apuldrum Parish, 1861
6. Goodwood ms E5154 memo from A. Hair, 1852; W.S.G. Dec. 12, 1860.

another. The three farmers Thomas, Charles and George, between them farmed Adsdean, Funtington, Fishbourne, Groves, Drayton, Droke, and Manor Farm in East Lavant,¹ between 1825 and 1869. Thomas Duke began by farming Droke Farm, and on his death in 1835, the tenancy passed to one of the Fogdens: at the same time, Groves Farm (a much more desirable holding) fell vacant, and George Duke was offered the tenancy, despite² offers from other farmers. In the same year, his brother Charles was farming Adsdean, Funtington and Fishbourne, although by 1840, the Adsdean and Funtington tenancies had passed elsewhere, and Charles had taken Manor Farm as an additional³ tenancy. In 1851, Dr Hair noted that he had 'been trying to take Kent's farm at Felpham, so he may be inclined to give up the (Manor) Farm.'⁴ In the same year, George added the tenancy of Drayton to that of Groves, giving him an area of nearly three hundred acres, and creating a much more valuable unit because of the money⁵ invested in Drayton 'upon which a large sum has been laid out.'. In fact, apart from Thomas Duke's initial tenancy on the downland farm of Droke, the remaining six farms occupied by the Dukes were both valuable and desirable. Fishbourne provided excellent facilities for livestock farming: in addition to the usual farmhouse and a granary with two barns, it had an eight horse stable, an ox range with nine stalls, a calf pen, a nine stall suckling pen, three pig pens and a five bayed cart house. The Manor Farm at East Lavant had a valuable right of pasturage on Lavant Marsh, and the⁶ Drayton/Groves unit was situated on the rich alluvial soil of the coastal plain.

In contrast, the farms occupied by the Fogdens were much less desirable. Strettington was one of the smaller farms on the Estate, being under 200 acres and⁷ its name, meaning 'stony place' indicates something of the quality of the soil.

1. Goodwood ms E5255/6, Memo from A. Hair, 1851.

2. Ibid.

3. Goodwood ms E5154, Memo from A. Hair

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. J. Glover Dictionary of Sussex Place Names, 1975, p.161

Droke and Stein contained high percentages of downland, and were among only six farms to exceed 800 acres. Situated in the less hospitable, northern part of the Estate, these farms contained extensive areas of high down, woodland and scrub, with only¹ about 20% arable.

If such moves as those made by the Dukes were possible within the Estate, why did Edmund Fogden leave the Estate altogether, rather than moving to a more favourable farm? Possibly there were two reasons: first, there is some evidence that he had had difficulty in paying his rent during the depression, and had remained in arrears for some two years. Not surprisingly, it seems that the management was less favourably disposed towards such a tenant. Second, the Duke family had the advantage of being closely involved with Estate management: the sister of Charles and George married John Rusbridger, the agent, and lived at another of the farms at East Wittering. The complexity of the relationships posed problems at the time of Rusbridger's will, and as one of the executors, Charles Duke had several interviews with Wagstaff when he was trying to clear the financial muddle after Rusbridger's death. Wagstaff wrote to Dr Hair 'Mr C. Duke has been, and was very civil and understood the position but was very much astonished, knowing how very particular Mr Rusbridger was in his² accounts.'. Duke's reputation was not always blameless, and Wagstaff reported that the county gossip said that 'Charles Duke had Held with the Hare and run with the³ Hounds.'. At one stage, Rev. Rusbridger told Wagstaff that Duke had thrown up his trusteeship, but Duke himself denied this, and claimed it was a ruse to prevent him from finding out certain facts. Later, Wagstaff did agree with Duke's version of the

1. See tables 25 and 26.

2. Goodwood Papers E1743, Letter from E.Wagstaff to A.Hair, 1850

3. Ibid.

situation, and thought the cause was a plot 'to substitute old Charles Bayley,
1
because then they could do as they liked.'.

It seems likely that Fogden's difficulties in the early fifties, coupled with the fact that he did not belong to a family which had influence on the management of the Estate prevented a more desirable farm being offered to him, although the tenant who succeeded him does not seem to have been a first rate farmer and, by the end of the seventies, a report on the farm described 'Root crops blighted, corn suffering, more
2
energetic management needed.'.

Some contemporaries would have agreed with the Duke of Richmond in his reliance on understanding of landlord/tenant roles, and his avoidance of formal leases. Low thought that tenants in the south and east of England were already fettered with a mass of meaningless instruction which was cumbersome and useless, and warned that the approach to leases had to be a creative one; not so vague as to be worthless, but a
3
means of improvement. In the fifties, Cross thought long leases were a disadvantage unless the possible decrease in sterling could be taken into account. He thought it likely that the value of gold would drop, so that a lease taken out in 1856 for
4
£1,000 might be paid off 20 years later for £500. However, as the fifties gave way to the sixties, greater consensus in favour of the lease gradually formed, and at Goodwood too, the succession of the sixth Duke brought a changed attitude.

In 1875, when he introduced the Agricultural Holdings Bill, the sixth Duke referred

1. Ibid.

2. Goodwood Papers E5156, Valuation, 1869.

3. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.

4. F. Cross, Landed Property, its Sale, Purchase and General Management, 1857, p.17.

to the ongoing problem of insecurity which had been highlighted by Pusey's select committee to enquire into tenant right. 'What was the complaint then is the complaint now...that there is insecurity to the tenant for the capital he has invested in the soils, which insecurity prevents the tenant from investing as large an amount for agricultural purposes than he otherwise would, and which therefore results in the producing power of the country not being brought up to the pitch to which it might be raised if the tenant had security for that capital.'¹ By this time he was referring to tenant right as 'in that part of the country in which I live, the customs are rather loose.', and admitted that 'I am in favour of granting leases. I think that where you give a lease, you are almost certain of a good tenant.'² The practice of putting leases up for auction did not automatically produce the best tenant '³for although you get the highest bidder, you probably get the worse farmer!'. Based on fifteen years experience of running his estate, the Duke's statement argued for stability, and a lease which would benefit both landlord and tenant. 'It is a great mistake to suppose that a landlord wants to change his tenant if he is a good tenant. I never in all my experience knew of a situation in which the landlord did not lose money by a change of tenant. Therefore on a selfish ground, if not on any high principle, I like leases.'⁴ He did distinguish between types of farmer however; 'small men who have no capital wherewith to make improvements on the land - they have nothing to put into the soil.'. More relevant was the class of intelligent farmers who had the desire to invest in the soil, and the Duke said that his 'knowledge of that class of farmers certainly leads me to believe that as a rule, they are perfectly competent to enter into agreements with their landlords if they are assured

1. Hansard ser.3,vol.ccxxii, Feb/Mar. 1875, p.1680.

2. Hansard ser.3,vol.ccxxii, Feb/Mar. 1875, p.1687.

3. Ibid.

4. Hansard ser.3,vol.ccxxii, Feb/Mar. 1875, p.1691.

compensation.'. This implies a distinction within the group designated as farmers, and that the Duke had experience of them on his own estates. If some were 'competent to enter into agreements', clearly implied is that others were not, and reflected in part the changing role of the farmer. Many contemporary writers felt that the adoption of commercial principles and methods by the agricultural interest would mean a more productive and efficient system, but not everyone agreed, and it took time to see the precise working out of the adoption of commercial principles to the agricultural situation. The agricultural world was far from static at this time, and any integration of commercial principles had to be able to accommodate changed and developing farming practice.

3. NEW STYLE FARMERS AT GOODWOOD

Given the developments in financial organisation, changes in farm size and attitudes towards leases, was there any evidence of new style farmers operating at Goodwood? Traditionally, the farmers were characterised as slaves to custom and reluctant to adopt new ideas. In the 1840s, Surtees had created Jorrocks, the cockney grocer turned farmer as determined to 'teach them a thing or two - farmers are a long way behind the intelligence of the age, your Greece.'

"That's just what I say, Mr Jorrocks," replied His Grace, "too much of what my father did, I do, style about them - want brushing up: you take yours in hand, Mr Jorrocks.'. ²

McGregor has suggested that the conservatism and ignorance of the farmers prevented

1. Ibid.

2. J. Surtees, Hillingdon Hall, 1845, Chapter 13.

the implementation of scientific and technological improvements in English
¹
 agriculture. His picture of the rigid thinking of the farmers is similar to
 Trollope's description of Mr Cheeseacre in Can You Forgive Her, 'a fat Norfolk farmer
²
 with not an idea beyond the virtues of stall feeding.'. Reluctance to change on the
 part of many of the farmers would explain why the second agricultural revolution
 described by Thompson involved 'a good deal less than half the individual farmers'
 coming 'under the sway of a system of commercialised farming in which farmers
 regarded their activities as a business', and Pusey commented on the limited horizons
 of those farmers who bought new implements, but seemed unable to use them properly.
 'It seems evident that the new implements require a new system in order thoroughly to
³
 carry out the advantages of modern mechanics.'.

That there was a change in role is not in question, but the reasons for this change
 involving less than half the farmers, and the charting of the changes in different
 social and geographical situations are less certain. Thompson hoped that his article
 'The Second Agricultural Revolution', would shed light on the argument 'that
 landlords exploited and oppressed tenants, and generally blocked or made difficult
⁴
 the path of technical and economic progress.'. The owners of the great estates had
 most to lose from a change from the old to the new systems: if the second
 agricultural revolution was 'primarily a managerial revolution' it was both the
 landlord role and that of the tenant which must be modified, since management had
⁵
 been solely in the hands of the landlord. Yet paradoxically, these same owners had
 the most to gain, since improvement in agriculture on one's estate carried with it a
 certain prestige. Martins describes tenants of 'unusual calibre and wealth' who took

1. O.R. McGregor in introduction to Ernle English Farming, Past and Present, 1961
 edn. See also E.L. Jones 'English farming Before and During the 19th Century',
Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XV no.1, 1962.

2. A. Trollope, Can You Forgive Her? 1864 p.108.

3. F.M.L. Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2,
 vol.21 no.1, 1968, p.71; P. Pusey, 'On the Progress of Agricultural Knowledge During
 the Past Eight Years', vol.XI, 1851, J.R.A.S.E. 1851, pp.643/4.

4. F.M.L. Thompson, op.cit. p.63.

5. Ibid.

on some of the Holkham farms, who 'expected the estate to provide adequate farm buildings, but other than this, they needed little encouragement or advice from the estate on farming practice.'¹ It is doubtful whether other aspects of their role would have been acceptable to a landlord such as Richmond, for they took on the role of squire in some Holkham villages, initiated schemes for church restoration, road and bridge building and the setting up of schools, but their handling of farms would have been highly desirable.

In 1853, Cox tried to redefine the role of the farmer in contemporary terms 'The agriculturist is no longer a farmer in the old feudal sense of the word, but a manufacturer of agricultural produce.', and Caird attributed this to the effect of improving landlords from the towns and then managed them 'with some attention to principles and details as gained them success in business.'² Dean encouraged farmers to 'become manufacturers, and like them they must look into their business affairs.'³ The articles in the J.R.A.S.E. encouraged a more modern approach: Coleman's article of 1858 was designed to help farmers cope with the problems of accounting, recommending the adoption of commercial principles of accounting for farm use, with such practical advice as when to make up the books, by choosing 'the time when there is least corn in the rickyard and least livestock in the yards', suggesting Lady Day as the best time, thus fitting a new idea into the old framework of the agricultural year.⁴ Practical considerations also underlay Pusey's advice that 'farmers ought no longer to bind themselves down by ancient customs in husbandry, but should consider at once how these practices should be reformed altogether.'⁵ Probably the most overt

1. S.W. Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.109.

2. A. Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853, p.49.

3. J. Caird, English Farming, 1850-1851, 1852, p.220.

184. G.A. Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, p.51.

4. J. Coleman, 'Farm Accounts' in J.R.A.S.E. vol.19, 1858, p.123.

5. P. Pusey, 'On the Progress of Agricultural Knowledge During the Past Eight Years', vol.XI, 1851, J.R.A.S.E. 1851, pp.643/4.

treatment of the subject was Bence Jones's 'Landowning as a Business', which did not appear until 1881, and still needed to attempt to haul farmers out of the half way stage between the old and the new.¹ The conflict between wanting complete freedom of contract on the one hand and 'feudal' advantages on the other was a difficult one to resolve: naturally farmers wanted the best of both systems, and Bence Jones urged them to adopt the new industrial ethic, seeing farming in the same terms as any other contemporary industries.

The reluctance of landowners to accept the commercialisation of the tenant role as necessary and indeed inevitable can be seen in the failure of the tenant right bills of the forties. So anxious were landlords to retain their advantageous position in the landlord/tenant relationship that Moore sees the commercialisation of the role of the landlord without that of the tenant as an aim common to traditionalists and progressives alike.² The progressives saw the transformation of agriculture into a capitalist activity as essential to perpetuate the power of the landed classes, but they wanted to increase the productivity of the countryside without disturbing the hierarchical structure of rural society. Richmond might have been progressive in his approach to farming, but, as has been shown several times in previous chapters, his view of rural society was essentially a traditional one.

The whole economic basis of the landlord/tenant relationship was founded on the principle of inherited authority, and implied dependence on the part of the tenant: that same dependence which formed so important a part of Richmond's paternalism.

1. W. Bence Jones 'Landowning as a Business', in Nineteenth Century, Mar 1882.

2. D.C. Moore, 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVIII no.3, 1965, pp.557/8.

That both landlord and tenant had roles to play was not in doubt: Marsh summarises traditional landlord responsibilities as buildings and land, and those of the tenant¹ being equipment and stock. The essential contribution of each party was acknowledged and some witnesses to the Select Committee on Agriculture in 1836 had argued that the current depression was due to the lack of capital invested in land, and the absence² of skill on the part of the farmers. The stress on landlord capital was strong, and one of the major questions of the forties was how to start the capital flowing again. The building up of estates 'into small kingdoms' worked against the sort of capital needed for high farming in some ways, because the amount of working capital thought necessary per acre was too great for large estates.

This was particularly true for estates which were still in debt - perhaps from the great era of country house building two generations previously. There is inadequate information available on how many estates had capital to spare when the demands of the mid-century improvement came, but the fifth Duke's prudence and restraint in the two decades from 1815, which Thompson identifies as the critical ones, and his insistence that improvements at Goodwood should be financed out of current expenditure were significant. The relationship between the parties was the subject of much contemporary debate: Caird's High Farming under Liberal Covenants was answered by Monro's Rich Farming and Co-operation between Landlord and Tenant.² The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide of 1853 attempted to encourage a more professional approach between the parties, and by setting down the responsibilities of each, tried to sweep away suspicion, and Tenant's Gain, not Landlord's Loss tried to show the

1. B. Marsh, The Agricultural Labour Force of England and Wales in 1851, Unpub. M.Phil Thesis, Kent, 1977.
2. D.C. Moore, 'The Corn Laws and High Farming' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XVlll no.3, 1965, p.547.
3. J. Caird, High Farming Under Liberal Covenants, 1849; Monro Landlord's Rents and Tenants Profits, 1851; J. Morton, Rich Farming and Co-operation between Landlord and Tenant, 1851.

importance of both parties. Although Cross claimed that with or without tenants, land was the ideal investment, since all land yielded profit, it became clear that this was a question of degree, and the whole essence of the English system rested in
2
the significance of the relationship between landlord and tenant.

By the time Caird's pamphlet of 1849 appeared encouraging landowners to stimulate tenant effort through capital investment, the pattern at Goodwood had been set for decades, and there was little risk of Richmond following Shaftesbury, Buckingham or
3
Thomas Johnes in over-reaching his capital. On the other hand, the fact that there was steady investment in the development of the Estate avoided that other risk - that neglect could lead to heavy repair bills in the long term. This policy of the fifth Duke fits into the broad trend of estate investment described by Adams, who suggests that estates did not invest a constant proportion of receipts or rental in
4
improvement or maintenance; the totals fluctuated from year to year. They did, however, remain connected to the rental, and investment as a proportion of landed income rose when the rental increased, and held steady when rents remained constant.

At Goodwood, a major recipient of landlord capital for the development of the Estate in the fifties was the building programme, and this was a substantial expense each
5
year. With an investment such as this, it is not surprising that Richmond looked to rent increases to recoup some of his outlay. Dr Hair's note on the valuation of Langford Farm recommends 'There ought perhaps to be more put upon this farm as buildings which will cost £400 are to be erected' and on West Lavant Farm, the

1. A. Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853, p.49; W. Sheild Nicholson, Tenant's Gain, not Landlord's Loss, 1883.

2. F. Cross, Landed Property, its Sale, Purchase and General Management, 1857, p.17.

3. See Chapter 2.

4. M. Adams, Agricultural Change in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1850-80, unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Hull, 1957, chap.10, section 5.

5. See table 32.

comment reads 'The buildings on this farm are in ruinous state, and new ones will have¹ to be erected. When this is done, an addition to the rent will have to be made.'. The increase might be a drawback for some tenants, but as Caird pointed out 'farms with every facility for good cultivation can better afford to pay a good rent than² can a dilapidated estate any rent, however moderate.'. It must be remembered that the sums concerned were considerable: the £400 to be spent on Langford's buildings was more than the entire annual rent, and the landlord was entitled to expect some return on his money.

Part of this return could not be counted in short term financial reward: some of the capital laid out by landlords was needed to create the correct conditions to attract the right calibre of tenant. In 1844, Low thought that 15% would be a reasonable return on investment, although in the next decade, Mechi considered 10% a good³ return, and the norm was probably lower than this. The standard addition for new building at Goodwood was only 5%. Part of the Duke's role was to maintain the balance between outlay of capital on the farms and the value of improvement. This meant taking into account the initial outlay and likely return on investment. It sometimes resulted in the conclusion that 'It is not worth the expense to make the⁴ improvements.', or 'the demand is large, the return small.'. The decision might also involve an attempt to prevent further and greater expense, and inevitably sometimes errors were made. 'The late Mr Arras objected to the battening of the exposed walls of the new house as being too expensive.' or 'Mr Arras in my opinion made a great⁵ mistake in not battening the weather walls - no economy in the long run.'.

1. Goodwood ms E5414, Memo from A. Hair, 1851.

2. J. Caird, English Farming 1850-1851, 1852, p.20.

3. D. Low, Landed Property and the Economy of Estates, 1844, p.14; J.J. Mechi,

4. Goodwood ms E5084, Requisition, 1858.

5. Ibid.

Efficiency and economy were significant factors in the laying out of capital as, to an extent, was appearance. Dr Hair agreed to the removal of an old woodhouse, fowlhouse and pig pen 'as from the point of view of appearance, it should be done.'¹ Perhaps the factors to be taken into account are best summed up in a comment on Waterbeach Inn, '£15, the cost of the requested improvement is half the rent much has been spent on the inn already, but as the materials are home grown or made, I do not object.'²

The building programme highlighted the complexity of the part played by landlord capital in the landlord/tenant relationship. It also made demands on the capital which could be supplied by the tenant, which was itself changing during this period. Holderness suggests that the delineation of agricultural capital did not rely totally on traditional divisions, but was closely related to the nature of the individual landlord/tenant relationship. The growth of tenant confidence was evident in a number of ways: Holderness points out that there were infinite variations on how landlord and tenant could co-operate in providing improvements, and this very variety gave a feeling of confidence, since each individual landlord could have a feeling of autonomy in influencing relationships so that they were suitable for particular estates, rather than having to conform to a standard set of regulations.³ On some East Anglian estates, Holderness found that the process of increasing responsibility taken by tenants for doing repairs on their own initiative had begun by the end of the eighteenth century. Interestingly, he suggests that it was the 'backward parts of the region, or on particularly run down estates' where landlords retained much of

1. Goodwood ms E5084, Requisition, 1858.

2. Ibid.

3. B.A.Holderness, 'Landlords' Capital Formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXV no.3, 1972, p.3.

1

the initiative for improvement and bore the brunt of the costs. At Goodwood, there are few instances of tenants providing their own capital: Thomas Cosens of Seabeach Farm claimed to have erected his own dairy and cow pens, for example, and Edward New² of Barnham raised a wall 50 feet long, paying for it himself. Perhaps because the Goodwood management was anxious to clarify the dividing line between landlord and tenant responsibility (which it did in the 1856/7 schedules of landlord and tenant³ repairs), such examples are few. The schedules were drawn up by the surveyor, in consultation with the tenant, after an inspection of each farm, and then lists were produced indicating which tasks were the responsibility of landlord and tenant respectively. For the farmers, the system was being formalised as a letter from the 1850s shows: 'Dear Sir, As it is requested that application for new buildings and substantial repairs should be made formally...I ad (sic.) under what I have⁴ previously asked for on many occasions.'

The whole vexed question of capital was recognised at the time, and F.M.L.Thompson's finding was that 'the tendency of the times was to hold that in general, farmers did not have sufficient capital.'⁵ Dean commented that 'the great fault in tenants generally speaking is having too much land in comparison with their means to⁶ cultivate it.'. The tenant of a mixed farm with an intensive four or five course⁷ cropping needed £10 per acre according to Caird, but high farming demanded more. Many managed on £6-£8 but it was generally agreed that low capital investment led to inefficient farming. Some agriculturists seemed able to reduce costs whilst increasing agricultural yields: the key factor has been identified as capital inflow.

1. B.A.Holderness, 'Landlords' Capital Formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXV no.3, 1972, p.3.

2. Goodwood ms, E5082, Landlord's and Tenants' Schedules of Repairs, 1856/7.

3. Ibid.

4. Goodwood ms E5084, requisition from H.Collins, 1858.

5. F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.21 no.1, 1968.

6. G.A. Dean, The Culture, Management and Improvement of Landed Estates, 1872, p.51.

7. J. Caird, High Farming Under Liberal Covenants, 1849, p.12.

Inevitably, this meant careful examination of the financial background of prospective tenants. The agent's notes on two prospective tenants in 1853 show how this worked: 'Before His Grace can consider Knight as a tenant he must check that he has sufficient means to stock and carry on the farm.'¹ Stocking and carrying involved more than cash. In the 1860s, Squarey defined four areas which could be identified as tenant capital: corn, growing plants or animal feedstuffs, livestock, implements and money capital to meet current expenses.² A note from the Goodwood agent refers to three of these: 'I think the person brought from Yorkshire...appears a respectable man though plain. He has a stock of horses and implements brought from Yorkshire with him...and I am referred to a banker in Beverly as to his means.'³ Another prospective tenant gave as one referee Arthur Eden in the Comptroller General's Office in London, and the agent wrote to Eden to ask 'if you consider his means sufficient for a farm of about £300 p.a., and if you think him an eligible tenant.'⁴

The comments on farmers in the Goodwood 1851 rent reviews indicate that farming practice was beginning to be an issue on the Estate. Whereas the earlier valuations concentrated on the state of the farm, a new element to be introduced in the fifties was the performance of the farmer. This practice developed at Goodwood as elsewhere,⁵ and was part of the spread of good practice which Caird referred to. De Vere's report on the Mount Trenchard estate specifies the exact reasons for commending a farmer: 'Michael Guiney, whose farm not only by the excellence of the crops, but by its systematic arrangement and excellent drainage evinces not only industry but skill

1. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to J. Ewens, June 2, 1853
2. E.P. Squarey, Farm Capital, J.R.A.S.E. ser.2. vol.11, 1878.
3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to T.Balmer, Oct 13, 1853.
4. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to T.Balmer, May 21, 1853.
5. J. Caird, The landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1880 edn., p.27.

1
in its occupier.'. To some extent, the Goodwood secretary's comments on tenants who
were 'not likely to do well at any rent' contributed to the process of improvement,
2
providing advance warning of tenants who were likely to fail. At Cowdray, one farmer
had to 'quit after evidence of bad management' and another tenant 'having proved an
3
inferior tenant had notice at this time to quit.'. This provides an opportunity to
compare two of the Goodwood farmers as case studies - one whose survival was at times
precarious, and the other who seemed to typify the new approach to farming.

John Sadler farmed the 472 acres of West Lavant Farm in the parishes of East and Mid
Lavant. Born in 1807, he was a local man from East Lavant parish, and had been
farming at West Lavant since at least the late 1840s, remaining as a tenant until his
4
death in 1865. The farm was one of the downland units, but clearly had some good
points. Its rent per acre in 1852 was 29/3d, compared to rents ranging from 20/9d to
5
23/6d on the other four farms owned by the estate in the same parishes. The old rent
at West Lavant had been £624, and a 10% reduction after the 1851 rent reviews brought
it down to £560. The division of arable, pasture and down on the farm was unusually
high in favour of arable for a downland unit, and 70% of the farm came into the
6
arable category, 8% pasture and 19% downland. Additionally, the farm had a valuable
7
right of pasturage on Lavant Marsh, and had potential for development. One drawback
was that the buildings on the farm were 'in ruinous state, and new ones will have to
be erected.'. It seems likely that Sadler's capital was limited, and he was already
8
in trouble by 1850. An undated letter, written to Rusbridger (so it must have been
before Rusbridger's death in May 1850) requested a delay in paying the rent from Lady

1. S. de Vere, Report After an Inspection of the Mount Trenchard Estate, 1853, p.8.
2. Goodwood ms E5414, Memo from A. Hair, 1851.
3. Cowdray ms, Uncatalogued Daybook, Michelmas, 1851.
4. Census Returns East Lavant Parish, 1861.
5. See table 34.
6. See table 25.
7. Goodwood ms E5409, Rental, 1852

1

Day to June 24th. By 1852, the problems with the rent had increased, and according to Dr Hair, he 'possibly may be unable to continue.'² The problem was compounded by the new buildings to be erected, which would be bound to affect the rent which Sadler could not pay at its current level. In February 1853, Sadler received a letter from the agent asking him to call within ten days and settle the rent - probably for Lady Day 1852 as well as for Michelmas, since letters of this sort were usually only sent when more than one payment was overdue. A month's silence ensued, and the agent refused to discuss the matter with Sadler when they met one market day by accident. By this time, Sadler was instructed not to sell any produce off his farm, in case the Duke had to resort to distraint to get his money.³ Somehow, after this, Sadler managed to pay the rent, and continued as a tenant.

Cultivation on the farm was fairly intensive: according to the 1861 census, he employed 22 men and 6 boys.⁴ Cattle were also kept: the prosecution of his cowman in 1860 for stealing 6d worth of barley meal from him indicates the presence of livestock on the farm. The wages he paid the cowman were not great, amounting to 11/- or 12/- per week.⁵ Workers with animals expected to be paid more highly than general farm labourers, although the family income would have been the significant economic units, and was higher than this, since his wife was 'generally in work' and their two lodgers, a servant and a labourer, would have helped to swell the income.⁶

On Sadler's death in 1865, the report on the farm indicated that it 'was not in a good state of cultivation' and a second inspection was ordered. After the corn was

1. Goodwood ms 1863, Letter to J. Rusbridger from J. Sadler, 1849.
2. Goodwood ms E5414, Memo from A. Hair to Richmond, 1852.
- 1 Goodwood ms E5082, memo from A.Hair, 1852.
3. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book T.Balmer to J.Sadler, Feb 12, 24, Mar 1, 3, 7 1853
4. Census Returns Mid Lavant Parish, 1861.
5. W.S.G. Mar 8, 1860.
6. Miller, Farming, Farm Work and Farm Workers in Victorian Gloucestershire, Unpub. Ph.D. Thesis, Bristol, 1980, Chapter 5, section ii; W.S.G. Mar 8, 1860.

cut, an investigation 'as to the foulness and condition of this farm' revealed that 'the condition of this farm is certainly under what it ought to be', and the surveyor recommended that the rent should be reduced for the first year at least, because of the farm's poor state. Six years after the new tenants moved in, however, the £70¹ rent reduction was still in operation.

There were no farm labourers living-in at the farmhouse. The census returns show that a house servant and a cook looked after Sadler, his wife and sister, and they² all lived in a substantial farmhouse built in the mid fifties. The old practice of having labourers to live-in was only recorded once amongst the Goodwood farmers - Thomas Mills of Strettington Little Farm employed one labourer to work on the 43 acre³ farm, and his son would also have added to the labour on the farm. The latter's occupation is simply given as 'farmer's son', and he may well have worked on his father's farm. Sadler's two servants were an indication of the social status which a large tenant farmer enjoyed, rather than a persistence of the traditional 'living-in' system. Reflecting this status too, was his appointment as overseer for the parish⁴ of Earnley in 1860. However, his farming lacked some of the dynamism of those farmers who were given enthusiastic praise in the valuations, and any initiative for improvement or alteration came from the management, rather than from Sadler himself. Chambers and Mingay point to this as the weakness of the English system: it could⁵ allow or even encourage the weak tenant to become even weaker. The bad practices at this time seem to have been incompetence in agriculture rather than lack of progressive agriculture - they were not guilty of failing to adopt new practices,

1. Goodwood ms E5156, 1865, E5364 1871. 2. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish, 1861.
3. Census Returns Mid Lavant Parish, 1861.
4. W.S.G. Apr 5, 1860.
5. J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880, 1966, p.200.

simply bad by quite traditional standards of cleanliness and competence.

In contrast to this was the case of George Bayley. In the late 1840s, he took over the tenancy of Warehead Farm in Boxgrove and Eartham parishes, from Charles Tuer. It is possible that the two were related in some way, as the census gives his name as ¹ George Tuer Bayley. Born in Bordon, Hants, he lived with his wife in Halnaker village with their two daughters and two sons. The same age as Sadler, Bayley began the 1850s with a farm of 153 acres, compared to Sadler's 500, but very quickly added the tenancy of another, known as the 'Late Whites', bringing the total to 400 acres by the time of the 1851 census. When the tenancy of Seabeach became vacant, Bayley was 'already appointed as her successor' before the outgoing tenant had written her ² final letter to the agent, relinquishing the tenancy. By 1851, he employed twelve labourers on a regular basis, and sublet seven cottages from the Duke for his ³ workers. During the 1850s, other parcels of land were added to the holdings: some fields from Priory Farm were added in 1853, and even when Bayley was not included in the original plan to divide up the Stamps' Farm, for the valuation records that 'the farm ought to be divided between between the Goodwood Farm, Strettington and ⁴ Boxgrove'. Warehead benefited from the ultimate division of the unit. By 1861, the total of his holdings on the estate amounted to 590 acres, and the census return gave his holdings as 900 acres, indicating that he held land on his own account, or had ⁵ additional tenancies from elsewhere. The process of accretion continued, and on the death of the tenant of Tangmere Farm, Bayley proposed that his son should take over the tenancy of Warehead, his original farm, while he himself became tenant of

1. Census Returns Boxgrove Parish, 1851.

2. Goodwood ms E5409, E5104, Letter from E.Huskisson to J.Rusbridger, Mar 20, 1849.

3. Census Returns Boxgrove Parish, 1851.

4. Goodwood ms E5155, 1853.

5. Census Returns Boxgrove Parish, 1861.

1

Tangmere. The agent wanted to do this 'only on the strict understanding that Mr B. would give his son sufficient capital to farm the land in the best manner, and that the son should reside in the farmhouse'. The Duke agreed, adding that Warehead and
2
Tangmere should not be farmed by the same tenant.

From the start of the fifties, Bayley seems to have had a clear idea of how he wanted the farms to develop, and a letter to the agent in 1853 expressed his desire to begin
3
breaking up 'the down which Mr Sowter had'. He also wanted to begin work on his new farm house, as the old one was in such a poor state that props had to be put in to prevent its collapse. Work continued through 1853 and 1854, with pig pens erected at Seabeach, and fencing put round many of the Warehead fields in 1854. The surveyor's report of 1856 recommended further building, and the following year saw plans for these produced with their costings, and these were submitted to the Duke. Final permission was not granted until April 1858, which seems a long time for a tenant to have to wait, but possibly the process was held up by the sudden death of
4
Robert Arras, the Goodwood agent. In 1859, a further request was received by the Goodwood management from Bayley. He wanted a hovel to be built, the conversion of another to a stable, a small carthouse to be erected, cottages to be repaired and for the barn's old thatch to be retiled. In the 1869 valuations, Bailey's Warehead Farm (which by this time included the combined acreages of Warehead and the Late Whites
5
Farm), was described as being 'well farmed, and in very good condition.'. This was praise indeed for such a large area of land, since most of the farms described as 'good', 'exceedingly good' or excellent' were in the range 150-300 acres, and this

1. Goodwood ms E5156, memo from Capt. Valentine to Richmond, 1868.
2. Goodwood ms E5156, Valuation, 1868.
3. Goodwood ms E6104 Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to T. Balmer Oct 13, 1853.
4. Goodwood ms E5081, Letters from J. Lillywhite, 1856, 1857.
5. Goodwood ms E5156, Valuations, 1869.

farm was nearly double that size. Warehead was only one of ten farms whose condition was described as being better than 'fair', just as John Sadler's West Lavant Farm was one of five whose condition was less than 'fair' after his death in 1865.

If Bayley was typical of the Duke's tenants, then he already had Cobden's 'men of
1
initiative and energy' on the Estate. However, the valuations of the late 60s indicate that the norm for the Estate lay somewhere between the energy of Bayley and the rather static nature of Sadler's farming. This ties in with Caird's broad description of the state of farming progress in the quarter century from 1850, that
2
good farming was not as unusual in 1875 as it had been in 1850. It follows from this that either the improvement was made from within - i.e. existing farmers improved their practice, or it was as a result of incomers. At Goodwood, where a large number of farmers were born on the Estate, and the farming population remained very static, it is tempting to see Bayley as the incomer, a successful farmer bringing new ideas
3
and standards from elsewhere. Yet of the outstanding farmers from the 1867-9
4
valuations, some were locally born, and others were incomers. Charles Stride from Salisbury in Wiltshire, farmed the Manor Farm in East Dean, which was 'in good clean condition' and the Rusbridger brothers' farms were described as in 'good, clean condition'. The farm of Thomas Cogan, born in Westhampnett was in 'an excellent state of cultivation', and that of Alexander Fogden, born in Strettington was 'exceedingly well farmed, and in an excellent state of cultivation'. Of the inefficient farmers whose farming received criticism, two were locally born, George Sowter from West Dean and James Norrell, and two came from Hampshire, James Calhoun

1. J.J. Mechi, How to Farm Profitably,

2. J. Caird, The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food, 1880, p.28.

3. Goodwood ms E5156, Valuations, 1869.

4. See Table 31

and Henry Freeland. It seemed that letting to a farmer from another area was no guarantee of improvement in farming, just as locally born men were as likely to be capable of improvement as those from elsewhere.

In terms of the landlord/tenant roles, it is clear from the Goodwood evidence that there was reluctance to move towards commercialisation of the tenant role. That would have meant subverting the traditional roles and relationships on which the development of the estate was based. The structure as it was safeguarded the landlord role, and it was the tenant who needed increased powers, not only to guarantee him security and to encourage him to spend his capital on the Estate, but to build and to develop his holding. However hard writers tried to identify the interaction between landlord and tenant being 'simply two men doing business' or used images like the farmer being a 'manufacturer of agricultural produce', the fact remained that the landlord and tenant were not equal.¹ At Goodwood, this inequality did not lead to insecurity, but it did mean tenant dependence on the landlord. Although the absence of leases might not mean the tenant was likely to be turned off his farm, there was always the possibility that this might happen and the landlord could die and be replaced by a less sympathetic and secure owner. The depression of 1849-53 underlined how hard it was for tenants to move to a more autonomous role, since it showed that the dependence on landlord benevolence still existed. Chapter Three showed how landlord and tenant were paternalistic to the lower levels of society, but it was also an integral part of the landlord/tenant relationship. The depression of 1849-53 underlined how hard it was for tenants to move to a more

1. W. Bence Jones, 'Landowning as a Business' in Nineteenth Century, Mar 1882; A. Cox, The Landlord's and Tenant's Guide, 1853 p.49.

autonomous role, since it showed that the dependence on landlord benevolence still existed. Chapter Three showed how landlord and tenant were paternalistic to the lower levels of society, but it was also an integral part of the landlord/tenant relationship.

This investigation of farms, farming and the farmers at Goodwood has shown the existence of continuity and change on the Estate. The paternalistic framework embraced all levels of society and the fundamental tenets upon which it was based had implications for all aspects of change: agricultural, organisational and financial. In agricultural terms, it meant that much change could be accommodated: since the fifth Duke saw his role as that of leader of rural society, it meant he must also lead in those activities on which that society depended for its existence, and in western Sussex, that meant agriculture. So wholehearted was his enthusiasm that Greville's judgement that 'agriculture was something of a passion with him' was entirely appropriate, and enabled him to take national and local agricultural
1 initiatives. The Earl of Chichester's judgement of the fifth Duke as 'a friend to the farmer as well as to the agricultural labourer' and the Duke's own comments when he spoke of how he 'had so often had the satisfaction and gratification of meeting the farmers of Sussex and being associated with them' is borne out by his activities on his own Estate in an unusually close and detailed involvement with the farming
2 which went on. The Duke's own example of high standards were reflected in his involvement in national competition, but there is evidence too of attempts to spread good practice and to support farmers through buildings and other developments on

1. W.S.G. Oct 21, 1860.

2. S.A.E. June 5, 1854.

their farms. There is no evidence of conflict between the management and the farmers who wanted change: such conflict as existed did so rather between management and the inefficient farmers.

Continuity and change were again revealed in the organisational pattern of the Estate, which showed that approaches to farm boundaries were flexible, but revealed careful control by the Estate and the personal involvement of the Duke himself. The division of farms, buying and selling or even exchanges of land were not left as matters for the surveyor and agent: all were referred to the Duke by memo or letter and frequently he intervened personally. Size of farms also reflected Richmond's social philosophy, since he was not concerned with social mobility between the classes: seen in this light, the loss of smaller farms is not surprising, and where there is evidence of the background of new tenants, they were clearly experienced farmers.

The Duke's understanding of landlord/tenant roles meant he saw no advantage in leases or other legislative structures. In the Richmond's eyes, the Goodwood farmers already had security of tenure because of his own attitude to his paternalistic responsibilities. Nevertheless, there is evidence of formal appraisal of the state of farms in written agreements made between landlord and tenant concerning repairs and improvements, and this might be seen as the Estate putting its own house in order, and ensuring that the lines of responsibility were also efficient as channels of communication.

The emphasis on capital in the agent's checking on prospective tenants illustrates an awareness of the need for capital investment on the part of the farmers. Careful control by the management ensured the retention of power by the landlord, and there is little evidence of autonomous activity by the tenants outside what was permitted under the terms of the landlord/tenant roles as they were understood at Goodwood.

The range of farming standards attained by tenants on the Goodwood Estate stretched from the poor to the excellent, and was roughly in line with Martins's description of farming at Holkham, where only about a third of tenants ranked as outstanding farmers. It may be that even if the standard of farming were to be raised, evaluation would still reveal one third below, one third above and one third of average performance, and the problem of such subjective judgements leaves open the possibility that what was meant by 'good' at Holkham was not the same as it was at Goodwood.

The role of the tenant farmer was subject to the same pressures as was any other in the interlocking framework of paternalism. Dependence and mutual responsibility went hand in hand, and the last four chapters have shown how this underpinned the activities of landlord, the financial activities of the estate, agent, and farmers. A further group completed those who made up the personnel of the estate, and formed the largest group numerically, although individually they were the least powerful: the Estate workers themselves.

CHAPTER 7

WORKERS ON THE GOODWOOD ESTATE

The reciprocal nature of the roles performed at all social levels in Richmond's paternalistic structure has been evident in the foregoing chapters. Landlord, tenant and labourer interacted within a framework which demanded that each should give and receive according to his status in order that rural society could continue to operate. Estate finance underpinned and reinforced the structure, and estate management worked to carry its principles into practice.

The group to which the effective transfer of this theory into practice mattered most consisted of the estate workers, who had least autonomy and were the most vulnerable.

They gave their labour to the estate, adhered to its moral code and in return they relied on the Duke of Richmond to provide them with employment opportunities and to pay them and their families a living wage. Earlier chapters have shown that Richmond himself had retained a high degree of autonomy, security and protection: in his privileged position he played an important part in decision making, affecting the nature and the pace of change on the estate, whilst still being secure in his position as head of rural society, bolstered by property, land and money, which set him apart. In contrast, the labourers made few decisions, had little security and their only hope of protection lay in the benevolence of their landlord. This was dependent on his power to control economic factors so that he could carry out his responsibilities towards them. Their part was to show that they deserved his help

and, as Chapter 3 showed, the concept of the meritorious labourer was important at Goodwood. The previous chapter showed how the social divisions between landlord, tenant and labourer remained wide, and there was little to encourage a labourer to think he could move out of his station. The role of the tenant farmer too might be developing, but it did so at Goodwood in a way which did not threaten the social balance of the estate. Such immobility was not unusual on estates, and in 1871, the M.P. John Dent thought that enclosure of waste, the enlargement of farms and 'the consequent necessity for a greater amount of capital being invested in agricultural undertakings' had '...removed beyond his reach means of improving' the labourer's¹ 'social conditions.'. The previous chapter demonstrated that the trend at Goodwood was towards 'medium sized farms rather than to the very large, but it was also away from the small farm which might have been a step up for the labourer. At Goodwood, the summit of his ambition had to be to achieve the 'meritorious' label, and the estate aimed to help him in this by providing employment opportunities, and by paying² wages which would support working people who made up the estate labour force. In its carrying out of these two tasks, each estate showed its philosophy in practical terms through the way in which it dealt with its work force. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the range of employment provided by the estate, to see how wages and seasonal unemployment were affected by Richmond's paternalistic philosophy, and to identify which sections of the community were employed by the estate. Reed summed up the labourers' position; 'Class relations are power relations. It was the labourer who felt the full brunt of that power. At work they were subject to their employer's³ power; at home to their landlord's.'. When the employer and the landlord were one

1. J.D.Dent, 'The Present Condition of the Agricultural Labourer' J.R.A.S. Ser.2 VII, 1871

2. See Chapter 3.

3. M.Reed, The Peasantry of 19th Century England, History Workshop, 18, Autumn 1984, p.64

and the same, the labourer could find himself tightly controlled by the day to day working out of the philosophy of one individual. Spasmodic acts of benevolence of the aristocrat have been referred to - when the blacksmith broke his leg, or as part of the March Charity, with occasional donations to worthy causes - but because the paternalism advocated by Richmond demanded dependence on the part of his workers, paternalism had to encompass the day to day existence of whole families: it enveloped them from the cradle to the grave.

There was no estate village per se at Goodwood: unlike Arundel, Petworth and Midhurst where the towns had grown up with the estates, Goodwood's relatively recent creation and its origin as a hunting lodge in the forest, explains the distance between
¹
Goodwood House and any village. The census returns for 1851 contain several pages of entry for a settlement, half in Boxgrove parish, and half in the neighbouring parish of Westhampnett, called Goodwood, but closer examination reveals that this was not a
²
village. The entries are those of Goodwood House itself, the stables, laundry, Garden House and one or two other buildings. There was, in reality, no such village for estate workers to live in. As a result the Duke owned cottages in several villages within a radius of half a dozen miles of the estate: in Westhampnett where the brick kilns were; in Tangmere and Boxgrove villages near the Home Farm; in
³
Singleton, East Dean, Mid or East Lavant near the forest. As a result it is difficult to categorise all the villages strictly according to Mills's classification, particularly since many of those who did not live in tied cottages
⁴
were nevertheless probably heavily dependent on the estate. The range and quality of

1. J. Kent Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.2.

2. Goodwood Ms E5429 Abstract Rental 1852/3.

3. Goodwood Ms. - See for example E5084 forestry accounts, 1864-6

4. D.Mills, 'English Villages in the 18th and 19th Century', *Amateur Historian*, 6, 1965, p.274

employment opportunities which an estate provided for local workers might vary, but all estates needed labour. On the whole the range of work at Goodwood remained within the bounds of agriculture and its allied supportive trades, or in the task of maintaining the great house. Much relevant information is to be found in the Goodwood Daybooks which were kept by the foremen of the various estate enterprises, and give detailed information on the payment of wages to individuals, numbers of days worked and so on. Not all have survived, but there are a few which illuminate the cashbooks which provide totals of wages paid.

It seems likely that the total number of workers on the estate was smaller than it had been in 1800. After the death of the third Duke there had been cuts in the number of employees in an attempt to reduce running costs and the foxhound pack was¹ sold early in the century. There was no hunting at Goodwood either, since the fifth Duke had abandoned the sport when he gave up riding because of his health in the twenties, and although the stables still formed a major enterprise, this source of employment also diminished in the 1850s, when the Duke sold his racing string in 1854. On the whole employment opportunities reflected the main sources of estate income each of which demanded a labour force: the rental, forestry, the brick kilns, Goodwood racecourse and the home farm.

THE NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT OFFERED BY THE GOODWOOD ESTATE TO THOSE IN LOCAL VILLAGES

The existence of the tenant farms provided employment in two ways. Firstly, the thirty two tenant farms depended on local labour to carry out their agricultural

1. D.Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, pp 89ff.

work; Westerton Farm employed 19 labourers; Priory Farm employed 9 labourers and 4 boys; the Forest Farm at Charlton 14 men and 6 boys, and Warehead Farm employed 12 labourers, for example.¹ Secondly, through the upkeep of farms, houses and cottages,² yet more workers were employed, this time directly by the estate. Each year several farms were under major review or repair during the 1850s, and provided work for carpenters, joiners and bricklayers, who also coped with the estate's more immediate emergency tasks. Each farm had its turn: for example, in 1853, Felpham was one of the farms, in 1856, it was Warehead's turn, and between 1858 and 1860, many repairs were carried out and new buildings erected at West Lavant and at one of the Boxgrove Farms.³ New building was important in providing stall feeding for animals, and the 1851 valuations for the rent reviews indicated where building was needed.⁴ New cottages, farm buildings in the form of barns, hovels, cow and cart sheds, sheep coops and pig pens were built in the 1850s and 60s, accounting for 16.8% of the total expenditure in 1852/3, and falling to 7.8% in 1855/6, when the 1856/7 landlord and tenant repairs schedules caused the total to rise again, with consequent implications for an adequate labour force. As the century progressed, this labour force was also involved in a major building programme of estate cottages and the reservoir. All these tasks demanded support from country tradesmen and skilled workers: farriers and blacksmiths, masons, carters and a host of others.

An increasing source of employment was the estate's forestry enterprise, and a further group of workers was working mainly in Charlton Forest, the original heart of the estate. This (together with some artificially planted woodland, the park and the

1. Census Returns for Westhampnett, Boxgrove and Singleton Parishes, 1851.
2. Goodwood ms Farm Valuations: Agent's Letter Book E6104 p.179; Letter from R.Arras to H. Collins, Aug. 1st, 1853; Letter from R.Arras to T.Balmer, 20th Aug, 1853; E 5081, letter from George Bayley to R.Arras.
3. Goodwood ms E6104, Feb. 1853; E5081/2 Landlord and Tenant's Schedule of repairs, 1856/7; E5258, cashbook, 1858 ff.
4. See table 34.

lower slopes of the downs), provided work for foresters, 'labourers in the woods',
¹
sawyers, general labourers, carters and so on. Thinning and cutting, planting and
renewing parts of the forest were ongoing tasks, and the quality of timber was as
important as its quantity, lending a degree of expertise to the labourers' tasks in
the forest. In the woodland areas were the villages and hamlets of Singleton, where
Thomas Seagrave, the chief forester lived, Charlton, East Dean, Mid-Lavant and East
²
Lavant. Samuel's comment that 'Occupational boundaries in the nineteenth century
countryside were comparatively fluid', were underlined by entries in the census
returns such as 'woods labourer and shepherd', and like other rural tasks,
³
involvement in forestry tended to run in families. Joseph Treagus and his son Moses
from Singleton were forest labourers (1861), James Horn and his son George from East
Dean were both wood cutters, and William Brockhurst and his son George, James Goble
and his son Richard, George Bridger and his son Adam, and many others were all
⁴
'labourers in the woods' according to the 1851 census returns.

A third group of workers was employed in the brick kilns at Westhampnett, working as
brickmakers, tilemakers, general labourers and carters. The importance of brick
building in the growth of stall feeding, and the increase in substantially built
farmhouses reflecting the rise in status of the tenant farmer was mentioned in the
previous chapter, and the brick kilns were important in both these developments.
Naturally, some of the workers lived in the villages and hamlets in Westhampnett
⁵
Parish, and the Duke reserved the right to dig brick earth on Westhampnett Farm. The
fact that the brick kilns were about six miles across country from the forestry

1. Census Returns Singleton Parish, 1861.
2. Census Returns Singleton Parish, 1861; East dean Parish, 1861.
3. R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.5.
4. Census Returns, Singleton Parish 1861, East Dean Parish 1861.
5. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish 1851

villages gave each settlement a different character. James Martin the tilemaker lived in Westhampnett, as did Charles Norkett, a brickyard labourer, and John Lillywhite, the foreman of the Goodwood Brick kilns. As with the timber, some of the bricks and tiles were sold off the estate, the increase in output reflecting the increasing size of the brickyard labour force. Some of the workers operated in gangs, (what the Parliamentary Commissioners called 'private gangs' with an estate worker in charge of them), which makes it difficult to gain detailed information, since their presence was noted as 'Thomas Norkett and co.', or 'Chas. Pickett and co.'. The gangs were employed on piecework and some idea of their output and the scope of their activities is revealed by the entry dated 29th April 1850, when Thomas Norkett's gang produced:

brick earth dug	3/ 0/ 0
3,700 bavins stacked	6/ 2
making 12,000 bricks	4/10/ 0
6,000 plain tiles	2/ 2/ 0
1,200 15" coping bricks	1/10/ 0
800 drain tiles	1/12/ 0
150 12" oven squares	15/ 0

13/15/2

3

More general labourers in the yard were employed as individuals, and the bulk of the tasks like stacking bavins and digging brick earth fell to them.

1. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish 1851
2. P.P. 1867, 6th Report Children's Employment Commission, Appendix A p. 92.3. Goodwood Ms.E5484 Brick Kiln Accounts , 1850/1851

The race course had to be maintained throughout the whole year, despite the fact that there was only one race meeting, held at the end of July. No one group of workers was designated as specific to the course, but here again, the carpenters and joiners obtained regular employment in maintaining gates and fences, railings, barriers and¹ other wooden fittings. Cleaning and painting the stand was an annual task, as was attention to the turf itself, and the building of new stands, jockeys' rooms and judges boxes had provided employment during the development of the racecourse in the thirties and forties. In spring each year, the stand was repaired and cleaned so² that it could be repainted in June. Small areas of the turf might be replaced at any time in the year and the Duke reserved the right to dig turf on Singleton Farm³ precisely for this purpose. In June the course was protected and a boy employed to keep the sheep away in preparation for July itself when the course was mowed and raked ready for the single race meeting which was the focal point of the year. A small workforce called the 'Domain Labourers' was employed on a variety of tasks, one of which was the race course, and additional employment was given to other workers as⁴ the race meeting itself drew near. 'Stable boys, who were classed as 'servants', were also given instruction as an entry in the accounts for 1850 shows - George Wren⁵ received £2/15/0 for '...teaching stable boys...'.⁶

The home farm was a unit of about one thousand acres in the mid century in Boxgrove parish. It provided further employment, and the census returns quote its labour force as 85 in 1851, although this list may include other⁶ labourers employed by the estate. Labour accounts for the home farm show that a body

1. Goodwood ms E5303 Estate daybook, 1850.
2. Goodwood ms E5428 Domain Wages Account 1864-6.
3. Goodwood ms E5149 Valuation of Singleton Farm, 1845.
4. Goodwood ms E5303 Estate daybook, 1850.
5. Ibid.
6. Census Returns Boxgrove Parish 1851/61/71.

of workers was retained for most of the agricultural year, and supplemented at times¹ of peak labour demand such as the hay or corn harvest. Producing both arable and livestock, as well as more general or '...field...' labourers, the home farm employed workers with animals: the sheep which were sent to Smithfield and the bulls and cows which were entered for local shows needed tending: Taylor found that Sussex was one² of three counties where dairying increased most rapidly from 1860. Pigs and hens were kept too - the latter not for display or competition (... 'we never show...'), but to provide Goodwood House with its food, '...personal accommodation: too often³ purchased at a high rate...', which Bowick described. This was needed not only for the considerable household, the acts of benevolence which might involve the provision of food, such as the audit dinner where those who had paid their rent were admitted to enjoy his hospitality, or the harvest rituals which demanded that the Duke should provide meat and a supper. At Cowdray in October 1853, the agent reported '...The work people had their dinner on the first. I gave them beef this year, and all were⁴ highly gratified and very thankfull (sic.)....'. The beer which was traditionally supplied to working people on some estates at hay and corn harvest was home brewed, although this was not a universal custom. On the Egerton estates in Cheshire, beer was not supplied, but an allowance of 6d a day was made for liquor, and on Lord Crewe's estate, one farmer supplied his men with a peck of malt and gave them 10/-⁵ each to enable them to brew their own beer. At Goodwood, the traditional allowances were made, and two workers, James Bennet and John Saunders, were principally⁶ responsible for the brewing. The farm also provided for the house parties and the lavish entertaining which took place at the time of the races. All had implications for an agricultural labour force which could sustain such a community.

1. Goodwood ms E5304/5, Home Farm Accounts, 1853-6, E 5394, Farm Account, 1853-71.

2. D.Taylor, 'The English Dairy Industry 1860-1930', Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXIX no.4, 1976, p.585.

3. Goodwood ms E6104 Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to Richmond, May 26, 1853; T.Bowick, 'On The Management of a Home Farm', J.R.A.S.E. vol.23, 1862. p.247.

4. Cowdray ms 1906 Letter to 6th Earl of Egmont from A. Brown, Oct. 9th, 1853.

5. C.S.Davies, The Agricultural History of Cheshire 1750-1850, Unpub. PhD. Thesis, Manchester, 1953, p.168.

6. Goodwood ms E5303, Estate Daybook, 1850.

Goodwood house itself provided further employment, with house servants of various kinds, the Goodwood laundry, the gardens, pheasantry, kennels and stables. In the House itself lived a total of 21 servants and it was the task of this group to look after the Richmond family which, in 1851, consisted of the Duke and Duchess, two unmarried sons and two unmarried daughters, the Duke's secretary and a teacher.¹ Across the parish boundary, but only a few yards from the House were the stables, laundry, kitchen, dairy, and garden house, and here a further 37 servants were housed: two coachmen, a groom and a postillion; 23 stable boys, a baker, a dairymaid, a cook and six maids - one for the scullery, two for the kitchen and three for the laundry. The Land Steward's house was occupied by the agent, Thomas Balmer, a bachelor, so there was plenty of room for five more servants to lodge there: two gardeners, two carters and a servant, together with a cook who acted as their housekeeper. Two more servants lodged in the Garden House, and not surprisingly, these were undergardeners. Compared to the management structure at Eaton, the Goodwood totals are modest, but nevertheless, at the time of the 1851 census, a total of 65 servants was employed in and around Goodwood House.² The Dower House, Molecomb, though smaller than the main house, was large enough for the sixth Duke to maintain a reasonably sized household when he lived there at the time of the 1861 census, having shut up Goodwood House itself for a period of mourning on the death of his father.³

Like the other enterprises, the farm and the house made demands on and provided opportunities for other local workers. Blacksmiths and wheelwrights, suppliers of implements, tools, seeds and other specialised workers would be needed, as would

1. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish 1851, Boxgrove Parish 1851.
2. G. Huxley, The Victorian Duke, 1967, p.148.
3. Census Returns Singleton Parish, 1861.

house servants of various kinds. Piece work of various kinds was offered to some workers, like Thomas Uppard the thatcher who was employed at harvest times to thatch the ricks and at other times to do occasional work; Joliffe whose job was to castrate¹ the pigs or like the chimney sweep who was employed in the House from time to time. In the absence of rapidly developing urban centres, it is likely that Goodwood was like Holkham in that although not all the population of parishes mostly owned by the Coke family were living in estate cottages or farms or wholly dependent on the estate² for their livelihood, '...they were all in some way affected by it....'.

Many questions may be asked about the estate as an employer, but there are three on which the Goodwood Papers shed particular light: were the wage rates in line with what might be expected elsewhere in the area; did the fact that a worker was employed at Goodwood provide him with additional security, and to whom were the employment opportunities available?

WAGE RATES ON THE GOODWOOD ESTATE

Wage rates in the area were calculated by Caird to be lower than in either the north or the east of the country, but Ernle's figures for the four southern counties indicate that although in 1824 Sussex³ had been the lowest of the four, wages increased and then dropped into fourth place again by 1860. The tendency seemed to be for the wages to be higher in Kent than in Hampshire, and even in Arthur Young's time, the wages of West Sussex tended to be close to the Hampshire totals, those in⁴ eastern Sussex reflecting the levels in Kent. Despite the variation in amounts

1. Goodwood ms. E5304/5 Goodwood Home Farm Accounts 1853/4 and 1855/6.

2. S.W.Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.5.

3. J.Caird, English Agriculture 1850-1851, 1852, pp.510-13; Ernle English Farming Past and Present, 1961 edn. Appendix 1X p.471.

4. A. Young in W. Marshall (ed) Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture, vol. 5, 1817, p.471.

quoted by different historians, the relationship between the four counties remained the same, Hampshire and Sussex being lower than Kent and Surrey, with areas near London commanding higher wages as the century progressed. Purdy's figures were slightly at variance with the others in that he showed western Sussex to be the lowest of the four by 1860.¹ All these figures were averages, however, and concealed great variety. Miller's Gloucestershire findings were that estates tended to pay lower cash wages than owner occupied farms but that the actual take-home wage was almost always higher than the basic rate because of piece work, perquisites and other bonuses.² Thompson suggested that 'the loss of non-monetary usages or perquisites, or their translation into money payments' was characteristic of the 18th century rather than the 19th, but this process may have been slower on estates, particularly where paternalism was strong.³ The Goodwood wages might be expected to be low, and the workers fulfilled three conditions which made low wages likely: they were estate workers; they lived in the south of England; and they found themselves in a rural area without the stimulus of rapidly growing urban or industrial centres. Roberts went further, and claimed that in the forties Goodwood wage rates were actually below subsistence level, when the Duke of Richmond was 'paying hard working labourers ten or eleven shillings per week and erring ones less...when many contemporaries considered twelve shillings the barest subsistence wage.'⁴ Soon after this, however, Caird's figures show that the average for Sussex was only 10/6d - lower than Surrey,⁵ but still higher than Hampshire, and considerably more than in Dorset. Heath quotes a work of 1850 which described how 'the chorus is swelled to its full volume of distress by the deep groans of Dorset where the wages of the labourer are 5/- a

1. J. Purdy, quoted in C.A. Miller, Farming, Farm Work and Farm Workers in Victorian Gloucestershire. Unpub. PhD. Thesis, Bristol, 1980, Chapter 3.

2. C.A. Miller, op. cit. Chapter 5.

3. E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, 1974, p.382.

4. D. Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.118.

5. J. Caird, English Agriculture 1850/1, 1852, pp.510-13.

week.'. Low wages were first linked with low productivity by Caird, and Hunt identified the 'rural districts of southern and eastern England' as 'among the most backward areas of all.'. ²

That there was dissatisfaction with wage rates at Goodwood is clear from the agent's letters, and what also emerges is the importance of bargaining, and of taking each case on its merits. 'There is still a deal of grumbling about wages, but I do not think any alteration will be necessary until the harvest, unless with the exception of two men. They were raised from 9-11 on the understanding they were to have nothing more for harvest. They now complain they have no more than the other carters and minus the double pay for a month.'. This 'enhanced day rate' was part of a range ³

of options for day labourers at harvest time, piece work and contract work also being available in some areas. Double pay was at the top end of the scale of enhanced rates: Morgan quotes an example from Buckinghamshire in 1860 where some labourers were paid 15/- instead of their normal rate of 10/-, and of others who were paid at double rate. ⁴ At Goodwood, the grumbling continued and Arras, left in charge during the autumn, tried to put the demand in perspective by relating it to prices. 'Flour

this time last year was about 10d a gallon, now it is 20d and everything in proportion.'. ⁵ Alexander Brown, the Cowdray agent, predicted that 'the high prices will make the coming winter a severe one for the working people, it is not improbable that their wages must again be considered in addition (sic) to previous advances.'. ⁶

One cause of conflict was that the different workers were considered separately.

Arras did not think the forest men's wages should be raised 'as they can earn at some

1. F.G. Heath, The English Peasantry, 1874, p.26

2. E.H.Hunt, 'Labour Productivity in English Agriculture 1850-1914' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XX no.2, 1967, p.285/6.

3. Goodwood ms. E6104 Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to T. Balmer, Aug.12th, 1853.

4. D.Morgan, 'The Place of Harvesters in 19th Century Village Life' in Village Life and Labour (ed. Samuel) p.41.

5. Goodwood ms. E6104 Agent's Letter Book R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct.1st, 1853.

6. Cowdray ms. 1906 Letter from A.Brown to Earl of Egmont Oct.9th 1853.

things about 16/- a week, but as they are subject to the weather, I think a small
1
rise would be necessary from the very high price of provisions.'

An additional factor was the payment of wages on other estates in the locality: 'the labouring men at 10/- are really too low considering the price of provisions...the Duke of Norfolk's men get 12/- and many more', although later in the same letter he describes how 'Labourers get 11/- and ask for 12, and I understand many farmers are giving it.'
2
Carpenters and bricklayers were paid more, but even they were keen to compare their lot with other estates. 'Mr Brown informs me that he raised Lord Egremont's men during the summer to 18/- and even at that wage, several left. Good workmen in Chichester and other towns have been getting 22/- to 25/-, such has been
3
the demand.' Such active awareness was evident, although Carlton suggests that estate life in western Sussex was a hindrance to the kind of confidence born of a
4
sense of cohesion which was developing amongst working people elsewhere. The influence of the estates may have been strong, but there is evidence that some workers were determined to find work elsewhere, and succeeded as some Cowdray workers did in 1852 when the agent told Lord Egmont 'I have had to advance the wages to 11/- being 1/- increase and others in proportion several of the men are not satisfied have left since I made the increase and a good many before.', and Irving commented on the shortage of harvest workers in Chichester as early as 1852, when 'so great is the scarcity of harvest labourers in west Sussex that the farmers apply for the help of
5
the Fusilier Guards stationed at Chichester to cut their wheat.' This was surprising for the area had been popular with migrant harvesters because the mild

1. Goodwood ms. E6104 Agent's Letter Book R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct.11th, 1853.
2. Goodwood ms. E6104 Agent's Letter Book R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct.1st 1853.
3. Goodwood ms. E6104 Agent's Letter Book R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct.11th, 1853.
4. F.Carlton, A Substantial and Sterling Friend to the Labouring Man Unpub. M.Phil. Thesis, Sussex, 1977, p.62; Cowdray ms. 1906 Letter from A. Brown to Sixth Earl of Egmont, Aug.2nd, 1853; J.Irving, Annals of Our Time, entry for Aug. 6th 1852, 1890.
5. W. Clift, Reminiscences of William Clift of Bramley, 1897, pp.61-5.C.H.Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain' Ec.H.R. ser.2, Vol.XXXIV no.3, 1981, p.448.

weather usually produced early harvests. William Clift noted that at Bramley in Hampshire 'some families used to ask their employers to let them go out to where corn ripened sooner than here (say Chichester or some such forward place); there they would get a fortnight's harvest work before our corn was ready.', but C.H. Lee suggests that about this time employment opportunities in London and Middlesex were¹ beginning to make themselves felt in Sussex. The fact that he mentions Sussex in a list of counties (including Surrey and Kent) where this was true from the 1840s and then goes on to describe how this process developed and spread to other counties, again mentioning Sussex, this time in conjunction with Hampshire, perhaps indicates that it was the eastern part of the country which felt the earlier impact, as did its neighbouring counties of Kent and Surrey, and the western part was probably to feel the influence of London later, being further away, and did so when neighbouring² Hampshire felt the effect. The availability of work elsewhere was referred to in a dispute over wages at Cowdray in 1852, when farm labourers from the Home Farm 'have³ gone south for the harvest, hoping no doubt to leave us in the lurch.'

Arras thought that some of the Goodwood workers deserved a rise, and others did not, and he proposed a scheme which would enable the estate to pay more to those whom he thought were worth it. Others, who were past doing a day's work should have their wages reduced 'to a pension according to the length of their service...I consider we have men who desire a rise, and others who have a good deal more than they work⁴ for!.'

1. C.H.Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain' Ec.H.R. ser.2, Vol.XXXIV no.3, 1981, p.448.

2. Ibid.

3. Cowdray ms 1906, Letter from A.Brown to Earl of Egmont, 3 Aug, 1852.

4. Goodwood ms E6104 Agent's Letter Book R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct.28th, 1853.

Three of the men who were past doing a day's work were Charles Irish aged 70, who earned 14/- per week and had worked at Goodwood for forty or fifty years; Maidlaw, who was also over seventy, had worked there between thirty and forty years, and Earwicker, who was 73, and had worked at Goodwood for ten or twelve years, and earned 15/-. 'Two men earning 16/- to 17/- would do more work than the three, and the pensions could be 4/- to 5/-. The estate would be in credit, but the men would do a fair day's work and set a better example to the rest and induce them to earn a pension.'¹ The changing rates a man might earn during his working life on the estate can be seen by following one worker through time.

Charles Longland, a carter who worked at the Brick Kilns, was first mentioned in July 1852, when he worked 18 days in the four weeks from July 4th-31st, and thereafter he worked for twelve days in each fortnight, earning 1/2d per day. His wages increased, and 10 years later, he was earning 2/2d per day, increased by a further 2d in 1867. Although the daybooks are not continuous, from the time Longland started in 1852, to February 1853 when they stop, resuming in April 1858 to December 1859, then from 1867 to 1875, he worked his twelve days in each fortnight, even during the winter months. There were only two exceptions in 1874 when he worked only seven days in the fortnight ending August 8th, and only 9 days in the next fortnight. From 1870, another carter worked alongside him at the 1/2d rate, and this probably indicates² that he was a young apprentice. Longland's experience would fit a defined pattern of wage earning. Snell suggests that 'the adult wage was reached by the age of nineteen and remained steady thereafter.', but variations mean that generalisations have to be

1. Goodwood ms E6104 Agent's Letter Book R.Arras to T. Balmer, Oct.28th, 1853.
2. Goodwood ms E5485, Brickyard Accounts, 1870.

carefully qualified, especially given the number of days that a man might work in a
¹
 fortnight. Longland worked twelve, which was the maximum possible for most workers
 at Goodwood. There was no Sunday working on the estate, except for the watchman from
 the Domain force, who was paid 20/- and worked all seven days in one week, and six in
 the next; the sheep minder, who worked all fourteen, as did other workers with
²
 animals. Normally, the male workers followed the pattern displayed by Longland, and
 if they were fully employed, worked twelve days. The normal daily rate for
 agricultural labourers on the estate was 2/-, that is if such a rate can be called
 'normal', given the range of exceptions. Even on the Home Farm, of a total of 33
 people, no more than eight were employed at the same rate. The foreman earned 3/4d
 per day, two workers received 2/2d; a further six were paid 1/10d, another 1/6d,
 three received 1/-, seven worked for 10d each, one had 8d, two earned 6d and the
³
 remaining two 4d. Omitting the pheasantry workers, who earned 1/6d per day, and the
 boys, who earned 10d, women, who worked for a lower rate, older workers who might
 receive a reduced level, and the specialist workers with animals who were paid at a
 higher rate, Longland's 2/2d rate, increased to 1/4d in 1867, was slightly more than
⁴
 an ordinary agricultural labourer on the estate might receive.

The way in which estates felt able to negotiate rates for specific jobs on an
 individual basis caused friction on the Cowdray estate, where the agent described how
 '6 of our regular men struck work in mowing in the Lawn on Friday last, not because I
 paid them too little for their previous mowing, but because I paid 3d per acre more
 for the mowing at the Ruin.'. This was paid because the extra money was 'evidently
⁵
 required by the quality of the work.'.

1. K.D.M.Snell, 'Agricultural Seasonal Unemployment, the standard of living and women's work in the south and east 1690-1860' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXXIV no.3, 1981, p.418.

2. Goodwood ms E5427, Domain Labour Accounts, 1859.

3. Ibid.; Domain Labour Accounts, Farm Personnel 1859/60.

4. Ibid.

5. Cowdray ms. 1906 Letter from A.Brown to Earl of Egmont, Aug. 3 1852.

Some of the factors which affected rates of pay were age, the type of work done, which part of the estate was being worked on and the sex of the individual, but taking these factors into account, it seems even so that in the early fifties, Goodwood rates tended to be lower than on other estates in the west, and in the local town both for general farm work and for more skilled trades like carpentry and bricklaying. When the requests for higher wages came, Arras thought it better 'to meet it (the request for rises), frankly and economise on other outlays until the pressure is over than allow the men to work on dissatisfied or in want', but offers no explanation as to why the Goodwood workers should have been receiving 20% lower wages than their Arundel counterparts.¹ By the late 1860s, the situation seems to have improved. Heath's figures, based on Stanhope's resume, show that Westhampnett was the highest of the four western Sussex areas tested, but on the whole, it seems that if the Goodwood estate did provide any cushion against bad times, it was not a cash wages one.² Indeed, Roberts points out it was almost part of the role of the estate worker to accept lower cash wages as part of a package which involved the paternalistic support of the landowner although Thompson described how 'economic rationalisation nibbled (and had long been nibbling) through the bonds of paternalism.'³

It was demonstrated in Chapter 3 that the Duke of Richmond placed wages as secondary in importance. Most significant, in his eyes, was the moral tie which bound workers and employer and it would have been difficult to engage in any kind of negotiation of wages with him on this basis. In his view he would prefer one labourer who worked

1. Goodwood Ms. E6104 Agent's Letter Book R. Arras to T. Balmer, Oct 1, 1853. 2. F.G. Heath, The English Peasantry, 1874, p.18

3. D. Roberts Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.145; E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, 1974, p.385.

willingly to a hundred who worked for wages, and it supports E.P. Thompson's description of how paternalists 'clung to the image of the labourer as an unfree man', although Thompson was referring to the eighteenth century. Still, even in the middle of the nineteenth century, the retention of dependence of his workers on him for additional support was part of the local control which Richmond wanted to retain at all costs. It is true that this could result in adverse conditions for the labourer, although conversely, total freedom was no guarantee of good conditions. Samuel describes some very poor conditions in Headington Quarry 'a village which had grown up singularly free of gentlemen.'. What mattered was not the existence of a paternalistic structure, but the quality of its working out in practice. Yet there were positive things to say about estates as employers. John Dent Dent described how 'during the winter months it was no unusual thing for many men to be thrown out of work and to be dependent on poor relief or on the exertions of landowners who created employment for them.'. Richmond would have supported him in this opinion.

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

There is some evidence that estate workers were protected from the worst effects of seasonal unemployment, supporting Miller's findings in Gloucestershire, but even here, the statement needs some qualification.

The nature and range of work available meant that the labour force could be 'managed' in order to provide some work in bad weather. The Domain labourers might engage in seasonal work such as working the ice cart in January, beating carpets for Goodwood

1. E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History 1974, p.383.
2. R. Samuel, 'Quarry Roughs' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975 p.155
3. J.D.Dent, 'The Present Condition of the Agricultural Labourer' J.R.A.S.E. Ser. 2 Vll, 1871, p.346.
4. Miller, Farming, Farm Work and Farm Workers in Victorian Gloucestershire. Unpub. PhD. Thesis, 1980, chapter 6.
5. Goodwood ms E5427 Domain Labour Accounts 1864-6.

House in April, working on the Racecourse in June and July, and leaf raking in November and December: there was an annual pattern of work which would take the labour force through the year. In addition, some activities could be fitted in as a response to particular weather conditions: the accounts for 1864 show a huge investment of time into work on various ponds, between August and October. Half the Domain labour force worked on the Chalk Pond, the Swan's Pond, the Garden Pond and Valdoe Pond, the latter taking up the whole of September. Weather records for the year show that it was a particularly dry summer, when water or the lack of it,¹ created special problems.

Indoor work for the Domain labour force was possible too, perhaps in the laundry, the sawmill or the mortar mill. In one twelve working day period from April 7th - 21st 1860, one labourer, Moreton, worked as follows.

Domain (2 days), Sawmill (1), Domain (2), Sawmill (2), Sawing wood (1), Laundry (1), Sawmill (1), Laundry (1), Domain (1).²

Not all the Domain labourers worked like this, however, some had tasks which remained unaffected by the weather. Two labourers were employed as watchmen to the House at night, and they took turns to perform the task, a week at a time, filling in the other week with general labouring.³ Another was employed for the whole year at the estate's pheasantry, and for these men, work continued throughout the year, providing secure and regular employment. In January 1865, the weather was so bad that only the

1. Goodwood ms E5427 Domain Labour Accounts 1864-6; Stratton, Agricultural Records, 1978 edition, p.113.
2. Goodwood ms. E5427 Domain Labour Accounts 1864-6
3. Ibid.

foreman, watchmen and pheasantry workers were employed at all, and this evidence sits¹ uneasily with the estate's role as a provider of winter work. Conversely, amongst estate farm workers the totals for winter working were quite high. Surviving records for the year 1859/60 show that the number of workers at Selhurst Park Farm, taken in hand by the management, varied between 16 in the first week of September, to 26 in the first fortnight of July. Winter working was remarkably constant: 24 labourers were employed in December, 27 in January, but there was a drop to 19 in February. Wage totals for the year 1853/4 on the home farm reflect more even levels, although² actual numbers are not available for this period.

Other estate enterprises do not show such regular employment. At the Brick Kilns, the only tasks which went on through the year were the stacking of bavins and the digging of brick earth. The latter was paid at a standard rate of 9d per thousand³ and 20d for levelling the pits which had been made. Traditionally, the brickmakers were amongst the most wretched of the labouring classes: it was no accident that when Trollope wanted to show a poor clergyman offering help to those less fortunate than himself, he was shown ministering 'to the brickmakers of Hoggstock, seeking support amongst the lowest of the low', although so strong was their sense of community 'that they worked very hard was certain, and it was certain that very few of their number ever came upon the poor rates', making it hard to ascertain levels of poverty⁴ amongst them from the records.

Labour accounts from 1850 show that only one man, William Jestico, was employed for

1. Goodwood ms. E5427, E5304 Home Farm Account 1853/4

2. Ibid.

3. Goodwood ms. E5484, Brickyard Accounts, 1851.

4. Gill in introduction to A. Trollope, The Last Chronicle of Barset, 1867 (1980 edn.) p.xvii; A. Trollope, The Last Chronicle of Barset, 1867, p.117.

the first three months of the year, apart from twelve days when a second man was taken on. For Jestico, the wages were better than those of a general farm labourer, and they were increased by piece work for stacking bays.

Nevertheless, the work was hard, heavy and carried out throughout the worst of the weather. The numbers who were not kept on through the winter were considerable - payments ranged from the February wage total of £3/4/4d to the May total of £61/12/4d.¹ Of the thirteen four week periods between October 1851 and September 1852, the average wage bill between December and March was £8/16/0, whereas for the rest of the year it was £50/9/10d.² The problem which existed for brickyard workers was that their employment gave out almost totally in the winter months, just when the labour market was swollen with agricultural workers also looking for employment. The piecework which they could engage in in summer encouraged long hours, and in addition to their winter unemployment problems, 'all accounts agree that the brickmakers worked tremendously hard, especially in summer.'³

The forestry workers on the estate were more fortunate because of the inverted seasonality of their work. Bark stripping began in March, and this major harvest lasted for some six weeks. The stripped bark from oaks, (trees which grew prolifically on the Goodwood estate), provided fuel for the tanners in Chichester, and this harvest, rather like the corn harvest, could involve whole families. The Money family provides the best example on the estate that some gang work could also be involved, as in the case of the ten individuals who worked for Thomas Norrell.⁴

1. Goodwood ms E5484, Brickyard Accounts, 1851.

2. Goodwood ms E5484, Brickyard Accounts, 1851.

3. R.Samuel, 'Quarry Roughs' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.165

4. Goodwood ms E5448, Forest Wages Account, 1864.

Further work involved the thinning of trees in woods and copses after the woodman had made his inspection. After this, the employment opportunities lessened slightly, although a small number of men oversaw the woods in the summer. Some forestry workers turned their attention to the haymaking in June and the racecourse in July, and then to the corn harvest. The second and third major forestry harvests followed with the fern cutting in September and early October, and acorn and chestnut gathering soon after that. The accounts for September 1850 show that additional piecework was available too, and Sunday working existed for a few, at the normal daily rate, just before the chestnuts were harvested. The end of October marked the Goodwood underwood sales, inaugurated in 1850, and repeated thereafter as an annual event.¹

At this point, when agricultural work was beginning to diminish, the forest was still busy, with planting, baving, cutting up windfalls, cutting posts and hooks and digging holes. December was one of the busiest months of all and, although Christmas Day was a holiday and no work was done on Sundays, there was still full employment for 23 workers. Five were cutting trees, five planting, six clearing the forest, two working in the nursery, two trimming forest trees, and they kept three carters busy.² In addition, there was piece work for cutting cover, pulling plants, picking and grubbing woods, making faggots in the forest at 2/6d per hundred, digging holes in the Red Copse at 1/6d per hundred, taking of bark at £3/5/0 per 16, digging post holes, cutting up windfalls and so on. The families of the forestry workers had good access to fuel 'a major item in the household budget to those who could not get it free.', especially in countryside such as that which lay on the northern part of the

1. E5448, Forest Wages Account, 1864; Goodwood ms. E5448, Labour Accounts Book, 1862-1874.

2. Ibid.

1

Goodwood estate. The forestry work continued throughout January and again, the entire Money family was part of the work force, with seven of them working for twelve days in the fortnight ending January 10th, clearing up the forest, and then planting for another twelve up to January 24th.

Winter working was taken into account in the planning of the year for the carpenters, bricklayers and others whose tasks were the upkeep and repair of farms, houses and cottages. Repairs were carried out in the winter months each year, starting at Michelmas: indoor maintenance, the digging of wells, repair of fences, painting and decorating were done. From Lady Day, more extensive outdoor work was done, and the new building projects were carried out : cottages, barns, cow and cart sheds, stables² and sheep coops were erected.

Samuel has highlighted the complexity of the rural work situation: 'occupational boundaries in the nineteenth century were comparatively fluid' and it is not possible to declare that because a man was not in employment of the estate, that he was out of work. Arch described himself as an 'experienced agricultural labourer, (master of my work in all its branches)', and took many jobs - hurdle making, gate hanging, and³ so on. It has been pointed out that the economic unit in nineteenth century wage terms was the family, rather than the male wage: a labourer brought before the courts for stealing barley meal from one of the Goodwood tenants and the court was told that⁴ 'his wife was normally in work.'. However, despite the complicated situation, it does seem likely that the estate was able to encompass in the tasks it could offer

1. R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.7

2. Goodwood ms. E5448, Labour Accounts Book, 1862-1874.

3. R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.5; Arch J., quoted in R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.3.

4. W.S.G. Mar 8, 1860.

'the whole range of country navvying jobs which kept the out of work farm labourer employed.', and although Guilment's findings on the Ashburnham estates in the east of Sussex might be too optimistic in the claim that estate workers 'did not have to worry about making ends meet during the winter...there was at all times of the year some kind of clearing up work to be done', there were probably more opportunities on the estate than off it. Cushioning partly took the form of an awareness of potential difficulties by a sympathetic management: on some estates, the landlord 'protected cottagers from eviction by the farmers by letting cottages directly himself rather than through the farmers' as did the second Earl of Leicester, but at Goodwood, some cottages were let through the farmers, and some were let directly by the estate. The cushioning was also built into the focal points of the estate year, such as celebrations at harvest and Christmas. This coincided with festive times of year, but also with the beginning and the middle of winter, the harshest season for most workers. Other aspects of this cushioning involved the granting of land to some labourers, as happened in Lincolnshire, and in the case of Goodwood, the Duke's belief in the granting of allotments - what he called 'granting the labourer a stake in the hedge.'. Richmond assured an audience of labourers, clergy, farmers and landowners that 'As proof of his feeling towards the agricultural classes he was present that day to give an earnest of his great and longing desire to improve their condition.', but it was their moral condition he went on to talk of, leaving aside their economic circumstances. Certainly there were employment opportunities at Goodwood, but the question of who these were available to needs to be examined more closely.

1. R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.3; F. Guilment The 19th Century Earls of Ashburnham and their Sussex Estates p. 88

2. S.W. Martins, A Great Estate At Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.5

3. S.A.E. June 5, 1847.

4. Ibid.

As might be expected from the national pattern, the labour force on the estate was predominantly male, although some opportunities were offered to women as well. The largest single category of workers was that of the labourers, and the surviving evidence indicates that these were almost always men. Such women as were recorded as being agricultural labourers were either the wives or widows of agricultural labourers. Of the 60 people in Westhampnett parish in 1851, recorded as such, only ¹ four were women, and of the 37 in Singleton parish in 1861, all were male. It would be wrong to think that these four females were the only ones to take part in agricultural tasks on the estate: at peak times, other women joined in to provide extra hands. On Selhurst Park Farm, taken in hand by the management in the late 1850s, for example, the time of hay harvest saw an addition of seven women to the ² labour list, which up to that point had consisted of 16 men and 5 boys. Census returns confirm that some of the women were wives of the male labourers, and their sons might be on or added to the list, making a 'field day' for the family. G. Whittington, a male labourer who had been employed by the estate for some time, was working on the estate at the 2/- per day rate; his wife was employed during June and July at 10d per day, and their son was also given employment on the Racecourse and ³ for harvest of that year at 4d per day. The family's income from work on the estate rose from 2/- per day to 3/2d during these months. Kitteringham records that 'It was reckoned that a woman's pay at common farm work was about half that of a man' and on this basis, the Goodwood rate is less than might be expected, although the hours worked by women might be less than those of their male counterparts to allow them to ⁴ fulfill family commitments. A similar pattern was followed by the Wight family, the

1. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish 1851, Singleton Parish 1861.

2. Goodwood ms E5435, Labour Accounts, Selhurst Park Farm, 1861/2.

3. Ibid.

4. J. Kitteringham, 'Country Work Girls in 19th Century England' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.90

Oakleys, the Neals and the Bennetts and all indicate that female labour 'was subsidiary, it was cheap' was true at Goodwood. Inevitably 'there were far more tasks in the harvest fields than could be performed by the regularly employed farm labour force', and the employment of women enabled the paternalistic landowner to increase his labour force at peak times without having to find somewhere to employ¹ his surplus labour when it was not needed.

The pattern at Goodwood seems to fit that described by other writers. Caird described turnip hoeing on Salisbury Plain as men's work, although in Norfolk, the cleaning of turnips was one of the winter tasks allocated to women, and at Goodwood, trimming turnips was allocated to women: the two women trimming turnips for 16 days in April 1854 received 13/9d each. Some of the work allocated to women was labour intensive: the acorn and chestnut gathering was done mainly by women, as was the² stone picking on the Racecourse, and the raking of the course. There is no way of knowing if women were involved in any of the gang work: either the roadmender's gang, the brickyard, the forest or the workers on the Racecourse, but if Goodwood is typical of gang practice elsewhere, it is quite likely that they would have been involved.

The dual roles of housewife and wage earners which most women from the labouring class expected to perform at some time inevitably affected the rest of the family. In the case of Hannah Woodroffe of Westhampnett, for example, both she and her husband were labourers on a regular basis, and the weight of domestic duty was thrown

1. D. Morgan, 'The Place of Harvesters in 19th Century Village Life' in Village Life and Labour (ed. Samuel) 1975, p.30

2. R. Samuel 'Village Labour' in R. Samuel, (ed) Village Life and Labour, 1975, p.12; J. Caird, English Farming, 1850-1851, 1852, p.284; Goodwood ms. E5304, Home Farm Account, 1854, E5428, Domain Labour Account, 1864-6.

on their 16 year old daughter, Louisa, who acted (according to the census), as
¹
'servant in the house.'. For some, the demands must have been enormous: Robert
Triggs of Maudlin was still recorded as an agricultural labourer at the age of 79 as
was his 70 year old wife, Elizabeth. They had another labourer as a lodger, but the
physical demands of labouring as well as running a cottage must have been
²
considerable for a couple in their seventies. Samuel has noted that the female
contribution to family subsistence in the form of wooding, sewing, taking in washing
³
or gleaning is not recorded in census returns or in estate records. For every
mention of a woman working on the estate, there were probably dozens of incidents in
which they contributed in a supportive way without being named. probably the role of
women in pre-industrial agricultural life was far greater than has sometimes been
realised, and this has cast doubt on whether Victorian attacks on fieldwork as being
unwomanly and a moral stance on the issue caused a decline in female field labour.
Certainly Richmond might have been expected to pronounce on such an issue since his
desire to improve the moral standards of the labourers is clear and was repeated
often when he had the chance to make public statements. Yet the issue of female
labour in agriculture was not one on which he spoke, choosing rather to see the role
of the workers' wives and families as supportive of the head of the family.

Amongst artisans, there are occasional indications that a woman was expected to share
in a man's work. Vrezia Pontin's occupation was given as 'carpenter's wife' and
⁴
Harriet Bayley was described as 'forester's mother'. The acquisition of artisan
status and the possession of a skill could enable a woman to become an employer of

1. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish, 1851.

2. Ibid.

3. R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.12;
Census Returns Westhampnett Parish - Waterbeach Village, Hampnett Village, 1851,
Singleton Parish, Charlton Village, 1861.

4. Census Returns Westhampnett Parish, 1851.

labour herself: the retired blacksmith, Mary Boswell of Maudling was in charge of the forge there in the early 1850s and the mason, Charlotte Ellis employed four other masons according to the 1851 census. It is likely that two of these were her sons, Thomas and John, and it could be that her position as head of the masons was carried over from earlier times when she had worked alongside her husband, taking over the role from him when he died.¹ These were very much the exceptions to the local situation and to the national picture painted by Richards of women as 'a substratum of the labour force receiving no apprenticeship, less education and the lowest wages.'² Snell also suggests that the Victorian period saw the end of a process which stressed the male wage and contributed 'to the deterioration of employment possibilities for women.' partly in order to reduce the likelihood of seasonal unemployment for men.³

As Miller suggests, the involvement of women in work with animals was more evident.⁴ Dairying accounted for most of the examples in the Goodwood area, and often a family involvement was indicated. Sarah Flint aged 60, a dairywoman at Goodwood, worked with her 31 year old daughter, and two of the four dairymaids in the village of Mid Lavant in 1861 were the sisters Jane and Emily Ayling, both in their sixties. There was also a shepherd's daughter at Waterbeach, Emily Coles aged 24, who was the daughter of the Goodwood shepherd, Charles Coles. Kitteringham suggests that such work was 'definitely more respectable than the common field labour' and Miller that it involved a level of expertise and higher pay than that of the agricultural labourers.⁵

1. Ibid.

2. E.Richards 'Women in the British Economy since about 1700: an interpretation', History, vol.59 1974, p.341

3. K.D.M.Snell, 'Agricultural Seasonal Unemployment, the standard of living and women's work in the south and east 1690-1860' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXXIV no.3, 1981, p.429

4. C.A. Miller, Farming, Farm Work and Farm Workers in Victorian Gloucestershire. Unpub. PhD. Thesis, Bristol, 1980, Chapter 3.

5. Census Returns Mid Lavant Parish 1861.

Further employment for women was possible in the servant class: domestic servants accounting for 13% of the total labour force in 1851. Most of the tenant farmers on the estate employed at least one house servant, and some had more. John Sadler from West Lavant had a servant and one cook/servant; John Ewens at Charlton had a housekeeper and a house servant; George Osborne at Tangmere had three female servants and James Calhoun at Raughmere had two servants, a housekeeper and a house servant. Of the servants in the parish (excluding Goodwood House) 11 were female. At Goodwood House itself, there lived a total of 21 servants: housekeeper, deputy housekeeper; French governess, German governess, 2 ladies' maids, 6 housemaids, 1 still room maid, house steward, valet, 3 footmen, porter, assistant porter and one labourer who counted as a servant. Of these, 13 were females, although by 1861 the sixth Duke had cut this total to nine, as he was living with his family at Molecombe, and Goodwood House was closed because of his father's recent death. Under the old regime a scullery maid, two servants and a cook had been employed to look after the domestic servants living in the Goodwood kitchen; laundry, stables and dairy. Whether the employment opportunities offered in this as well as in the farm work meant that the local people were likely to be the ones who were employed, is revealed in the census returns.

Although at first sight it looks as though it was the locals who were employed by the estate, this is only true in certain categories of employment. In Westhampnett parish, for example, most of the labourers and artisans were locally born, coming from the parishes of Westhampnett or Boxgrove, or from another parish where there was

1. Census Returns, Singleton Parish 1861.
2. Census Returns, Westhampnett Parish 1861.

a Goodwood farm. 61% of the artisans came into these categories, compared to only 18% of the house servants. 34% of these came from other counties, compared to 1% of the labourers and 2% of the artisans. This pattern was particularly true of the Duke of Richmond's servants, and can be seen by comparing the birthplaces of the Duke's servants with those of the other house and inn servants in the area. The overseas origins of the two Governesses is to be expected, but the small number of local people to be employed in the House is quite marked. The House Steward was a Yorkshireman; and the Housekeeper came from Scotland. House servants on farms, in the Rectory or in one of the other houses were more likely to be locally born, but even here, there was more movement into the area than with either artisans or labourers. Other parishes followed similar patterns. In Singleton parish, all the general labourers but one had been born either in Singleton parish, or in neighbouring East Dean, and the totals were almost as high for woods labourers as for those designated farm or agricultural labourers. The carters, porter, timber dealers and sawyer were all locally born and again, the housekeepers, inn and some of the house servants came from the locality, and others from further afield. The chimney sweep, victualler, and two of the farmers came from other counties, and only one was locally born.

In general, agricultural workers, whether designated 'farm', 'agricultural' or 'general' labourers seem to have been locally born either in the parish in which they still lived, or an adjacent one. At Westhampnett, it could be Westhampnett or Boxgrove; on the northern side of the estate it might be Singleton or East Dean;

1. See table 35

2. Ibid.

3. Census Returns, Singleton Parish, 1861.

further west it could be Mid or East Lavant and so on. Farmers were less likely to be locally born, as were house servants, and those who had skills or plied trades were as likely to come from elsewhere as to be locals. Working in Goodwood House itself almost certainly meant an 'incomer'.

In its provision of employment opportunities for the surrounding villages then, the estate offered work in the various enterprises on which it depended for income, and there does seem to be some evidence that seasonal unemployment could be avoided by some workers on the estate, although this was by no means guaranteed in all circumstances, or in all types of employment. Female and family involvement in work was to be found, although not more than might traditionally be expected in an agricultural community. The amount of immigration into the area was slight, as might be expected in such a rural area: Havinden found the same in Berkshire, and the villages around Goodwood show only slightly more movement than at Ardington and Lockinge.¹ The farmers could come from other areas, and the connection with Hampshire seems particularly strong (perhaps because of the similarity of soils) and this perhaps encouraged the wage rates of the two areas to remain similar. However, the Richmonds were employers of more distantly born people, and the role of Goodwood House in local employment terms, was not a great one.

To the various groups and individuals, the management of the estate was important in a number of ways. In the absence of an estate village per se, the influence of Goodwood was felt in several villages in the area, most of them close to the centre

1. M.A.Havinden, Estate Villages, 1966, p.64.

of the estate and within five miles of the house. The variety of tasks and inverted seasonality of some of the enterprises offered scope for the cushioning of some workers against the worst excesses of seasonal unemployment, supporting Miller's findings in Gloucestershire, and perhaps qualifying Collins's assertion that seasonal unemployment was worst in the south and east.¹ Guilmant's statement that estate workers need have no worries about making ends meet in the winter months is too sweeping to apply to Goodwood, however.² Estate workers may have been slightly more favourably treated, but even within this group, there was wide variation of experience, as for example, between the brickyard workers and the domain labourers at Goodwood. Nevertheless, the fact that the estate offered scope was merely to indicate potential, and it was active management which was the key factor: what Thompson called 'the constant and effective interference in the management of estates between 1820 and 1880'.³ The cushion could only be effective if management was alert to signs of distress; felt the need to be aware of wage rates elsewhere in the area, and was prepared to switch workers from one task to another as different pressures operated during the estate year.

The benefit of dependence on the estate and its activities came to workers in the surrounding villages, but they also suffered the disadvantages of this dependence: these were the workers who suffered when the management demanded savings on its wage bills, as it did when the labour force (particularly in the stables), was reduced after the death of the third Duke; when the racing stable was disbanded in 1854 or when the House was shut for some considerable time after the deaths of the fourth and

1. C.A. Miller Farming, Farm Work and Farm Workers in Victorian Gloucestershire. Unpub. PhD. Thesis, Bristol, 1980, Chapter 5; E.J.T. Collins, 'Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the 19th century.' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXIX no.2, 1976.

2. F. Guilmant The 19th Century Earls of Ashburnham and their Sussex Estates, unpub. M.A. thesis, p.88.

3. F.M.L.Thompson, English Landed Society in the 19th Century, 1963, p.175

the fifth Dukes. For females in the area, the fact that the Duke's household consisted of many who had been brought in from other areas, meant that the potential for employment was not as great for women as it might have been, and although some females were at work, the records show that most of the estate employees were male. Apart from dairying, some piece work, and one or two female labourers, the involvement of women was on the whole at peak times: such as the hay or corn harvest, and immediately before race meetings.

It is clear that the estate offered work to a much wider range of workers than labourers - unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers; artisans, tradesmen and servants were employed. For many at Goodwood, Samuel's assertion that 'employment was by the job, rather than the regular working week' held good.² For some, like the skilled workers with animals or the foremen of the various estate enterprises, regularity of employment was assured, and wages were always paid. The complexity of the work situation and fluidity of occupational work boundaries described by Samuel is supported by the evidence from Goodwood, but limited material is available on individual workers, making it hard to trace change through time in this respect. Furthermore, the context within which agriculture was operating, and hence within which the workers were employed, was changing. Labourers were still being encouraged to aspire to the meritorious state, and temporal and spiritual authorities united to encourage him to retain this as his goal. At the mid point of the century, the character of agriculture in a rural area such as western Sussex was still local: estate and clergy were closely linked, and joined with a third authority in

1. D.Hunn, Goodwood, 1975, pp80, 91, 135; J. Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p.193.

2. R.Samuel, 'Village Labour' in Village Life and Labour (ed Samuel) 1975, p.5

completing a triumvirate of power which sought to work together in exercising control. Inextricably bound up with estate and church was the market town: in the case of Chichester it was also the cathedral city, and it played an important part in the agricultural scene. Behind the apparent stability of the relationship between estate and town and despite the fact that the town's role seemed to be the same as it had been for centuries was a shifting situation: change was inevitable.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE GOODWOOD ESTATE AND WIDER CONTACTS

The foregoing chapters have shown a high degree of implicit understanding of each other's roles and responsibilities on the part of the 'agricultural family' at Goodwood.¹ Landlord, tenant and labourer had expectations of each other, and estate management was able to facilitate the translation of these expectations into practice. Whilst there is evidence that change and development took place for landlord, tenant and labourer, this change was accomplished within a framework which remained stable. This structure accommodated change at a pace which allowed for development and modification with the landowner as its proponent, rather than drastic and sudden change which was forced on the estate by factors outside his control. It could allow for competent, traditional modes of cultivation, and yet did not hinder a more dynamic approach. It could accommodate 'progressive' individual farmers, and yet it did not prevent the management from dealing with the lazy and the inefficient.

Estates might pay their workers less, and yet instead of low pay proving to be a spur to combination,² it was a negative influence on such activity. Perhaps its strength lay in the flexibility of the system, for flexibility of occupational boundaries, individual or family labour, and a host of other alternatives meant that those who were within the Estate could use the system to cushion or to improve their position. Nevertheless, the Estate could not exist as an isolated unit, and contacts with other agencies were essential. How it fared in the world beyond the confines of the Estate's boundaries depended on the understanding which others had of how an

1. J.Mechi How To Farm Profitably, 1857 p.363.

2. F.Carlton, A Substantial and Sterling Friend to the Labouring Man, Unpub.M.Phil.Thesis, Sussex, 1977, p.62.

estate operated and on what might be expected from the various layers of society which existed within it.

Roberts's definition of paternalism in the early Victorian period stressed the small scale of the sphere within which it operated, for 'in smallness lay the key to paternalism.' but E.P.Thompson's definition of 18th century paternalism depended less on size and more on a shared understanding of roles and of expectations so that 'the control which men of money and power still exercised over the whole life and expectations of those below them remained enormous.'¹ In many ways, the interaction of estate and outside agencies was more appropriate to Thompson's model than that of Roberts. It is the mental framework within which paternalism operated, the 'state of mind in which the established structures of authority and even modes of exploitation appear to be in the very course of nature'² which Thompson emphasised. In this model, it was possible for paternalism to operate across considerable distance because common understanding would produce common expectation and common acceptance of the various roles.

In some ways it is possible to see how Roberts's definition of paternalism did operate at Goodwood, for at one level, the context of paternalism within which the Estate operated was local and small. It depended on face to face contact between parties whose roles were mutually understood, and on a belief in the mutual interests of all parties. Richmond affirmed that 'the interests of the landlord, tenant and labourer are one'³ and such a philosophy was not surprising. Chapter Three showed how

1. D.Roberts Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.270; E.P.Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, 1974, p.387.
2. E.P.Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, 1974, p.388.
3. S.A.E. June 13, 1857.

seriously the Duke took his responsibilities as a landowner and spoke of his 'brother farmers' and how he had 'lived for many years in this county and have always found¹ the agricultural labourers deserving of our confidence.'. Whilst acknowledging the 'different feelings on great and important matters' which existed between the various groups, he urged that 'landlord, tenant and labourers should have a long and strong² pull together.'. Speaking at the West Sussex Agricultural Association Meeting in 1856, Richmond told his audience that 'Together we are a strong and most important body: severed we are like the chaff from one of your threshing machines - worth³ nothing.'. This 'strong and important body' included more than landlords, tenants and labourers, and the call to unite was addressed an audience more wide ranging than those directly employed by the Goodwood Estate.

It included the authorities of the Church, who attended in the persons of the Bishop of Chichester, the Archdeacon and several of the local clergy. The Bishop's speech stressed the integration of temporal and spiritual institutions, for the clergy 'owe a debt of gratitude to this association for helping in the process of 'inculcating⁴ the duties of religion among you.'. Present also were representatives of the temporal authorities in the city. The Mayor of Chichester joined the Duke, the Earl of March, the Bishop and Archdeacon on the top table, and indications of other secular authorities were present too. The band of the Royal Sussex Militia played, and banners were carried, the Union Jack and the Royal Standard being followed by the⁵ colours of the Sussex volunteers. Richmond's support for the twin pillars of the constitution, Church and State was firm. He had officiated at William IVth's

1. S.A.E. Dec 9, 1857, June 13, 1847.
2. S.A.E. June 5, 1847.
3. S.A.E. June 14, 1856.
4. S.A.E. June 13, 1857.
5. S.A.E. June 14, 1856.

coronation and at that of Queen Victoria, and locally was Lord Lieutenant of the
County and Colonel of the Militia.¹ All these were reminders of the fact that
although the Duke was indeed at the apex of the estate's hierarchy, he was also in a
very significant position at the head of a much wider community which was
inextricably linked to and integrated with the life of the Goodwood Estate.

The fifth Duke told the Chichester Fatstock Show, with its audience of farmers and
clergy 'there was nobody in England that did not admit that the agricultural interest
and the interests of towns and their neighbourhood were the same.'² He encouraged
them to develop a sense of loyalty to their own city, which was important for the
paternalist, since he wanted a static community, and an attachment to the locality
was highly desirable. The Duke emphasised that their city was important to him,
despite his country-wide experience. 'It was in this town he first addressed a
public assembly, it was this town he represented, and it was a town in which he felt
a pride greater, or as great as he felt in any part of the country.' and he advised
the town to give its loyalty to the agricultural interest, for 'Any fluctuations in
the prosperity of agriculture could not fail to effect the welfare of this city.'³ In
practical terms, this was to be shown in their dealings with each other, 'for their
interests were mutual, and he hoped they would not forget the principle of
doing unto others as they would be done by.'⁴ They met in the town at the Fatstock
Show, in the Bishop's Garden at the Horticultural and Floricultural Show, and at
Goodwood, where the Duke made long speeches about how different classes - including
the clergy and the tradesmen of the town - meeting together like this, were promoting

1. J.Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, pp. 113, 159.

2. S.A.E. Dec 17, 1853.

3. S.A.E. Dec 17, 1853.

4. Ibid.

the interests of agriculture.

Other members of the Duke's family spoke in similar vein. At the Fatstock Show, in December 1854 Lord Henry Lennox welcomed the farmers on behalf of the tradesmen of Chichester 'the oftener they came, the better the tradesmen would be pleased, for they looked to the farmers to make them happy and prosperous', and the Earl of March acknowledged that they were 'indebted to the tradesmen of the city of Chichester for the success of the Show,' and promised to do everything which he could for the prosperity of their city and neighbourhood.¹

The foregoing chapters have shown how the Estate was a network of relationships and hierarchies and how it formed an internal unity which made sense of itself. This is not to argue that it was totally self contained, and its relationships with external bodies were complex and varied. Estate and town had been closely linked in the traditional rural structure, although at Goodwood, the two were some three miles apart. The public manifestations of Estate and town unity formed important events in the calendar and the development of either had a stimulating effect on the other. Transport systems which served the Estate or town and brought new markets closer were significant in this process, and were bound to be important in an area like the west of Sussex, where no large urban growth had occurred, so the search for more distant markets was urgently needed. This was facilitated by transport developments which made travel much easier, both on a regional and on a national scale. That nineteenth century road and rail developments resulted largely in the bypassing of the west of

1. S.A.E. Dec 15, 1854.

Sussex presented a problem: if the west was not to develop through a high level of internal development, could it do so through 'export' oriented development, perhaps east to the coastal resorts, westward to the fast growing ports of Southampton and Portsmouth, or direct to the capital? Adams has shown how crucial to the development of the less populated East Riding of Yorkshire with its great estates were the expanding markets around industrial towns in the West Riding. Freeman's description of the decline of Petersfield - once a prosperous market town - shows what happened when railway development permitted travellers to bypass a town, and Kerr shows how, without the stimuli of adjacent growing markets 'seasons and customs of their fathers...were the only spurs to Dorset farmers'. The part played by some landowners in ensuring that their estates were well served by new transport developments was demonstrated by Hepple's study, and it is clear that the mid century was a period of change, offering some areas the opportunity to prosper by using faster means of transport, but leaving for others 'local importance, but only memories of national renown'.

How Goodwood fared in the shift from a local agricultural perspective to regional and national levels is closely related to transport development. In some ways, region and county were synonymous in the mid century, and Sussex had a strong sense of identity. Yet it would be wrong to see the county boundary as confining, and Sussex cannot be seen as a homogenous whole. As the resorts of the east developed more rapidly and to a greater level of population density than the west, the two parts of the county became even less similar. Levels of economic activity in the east were

1. C.H.Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain' Ec.H.R. ser.2, vol.XXXIV no.3, 1981, p.438.
2. M.Adams, Agricultural Change in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1850-80, unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Hull, 1957, p.10.
3. M.J. Freeman 'The Stage Coach System of South Hampshire' J. Hist. Geog. 1, 1975, p.279; B.Kerr, 'The Dorset Agricultural Labourer', Archaeology and History, 1962, p.158.
4. J.R.Hepple, The Influence of Landowners Attitudes on Railway Alignment in 19th Century England. Unpub.Ph.D.thesis, Hull, 1974, pp.73-84; B.Kerr 'The Dorset Agricultural Labourer', Archaeology and History, 1962, p.158.

stimulated by population growth and transport development, and any figures for the whole of Sussex need to be treated with caution, for they cover a wide variety of different experiences, and more work needs to be done on individual estates. The Goodwood estate looked beyond the boundary of Sussex too, and had contact with individuals, firms and events much further afield in England, and even outside it. This chapter will consider links between the Goodwood estate and some other agencies, setting these relationships in the context of agriculture, which was becoming regional and national in character.

MARKET TOWNS AND THE GREAT ESTATES

The nearest market town to the Goodwood Estate was Chichester, seat of the Diocese and the largest settlement in western Sussex in the mid 19th century, having a population of 8,331 in 1851. To the east, lay Shoreham, Littlehampton and Arundel, each with populations of about two and a half thousand, and south was Bognor, with almost two thousand inhabitants. Westward were villages such as Fishbourne and Bosham, but there were no towns of significant size to the east of the Hampshire border. North were the two market towns of Midhurst and Petworth. The latter was the larger, with almost three and a half thousand inhabitants, and Midhurst was less than half its size, with nearly one and a half thousand. The weald lay further to the north, and was dominated by Horsham, with just over six thousand people, a thousand more than the third largest town in the west, Worthing, which was situated
1
on the coast.

1. Black Guide To The South Eastern Counties, 1862, pp. 568, 572, 587, 593, 599, 603, 607, 611, 630.

Of the four estates in the extreme west of the county, Goodwood was the furthest from its market town. Chichester, Arundel, Midhurst and Petworth were all well established settlements in terms of population and growth, but by the mid nineteenth century, Petworth and Arundel seem to have been most dominated by the great estates. These settlements had grown up almost feudally around the houses of the two most substantial landowners in the county, Lord Leconfield and the Duke of Norfolk, who owned 50,000 acres around the two towns. Cobbett described Petworth as 'a nice market town, but solid and clean...Lord Egremont's house is close to the town with its solid outbuildings, garden walls and other erections, and is perhaps nearly as big as the town, though the town is not a very large one.'. Petworth failed to grow significantly after this, and Black records its population as static between 1862 and 1882. Arundel too remained small, and actually lost population slightly in the 1860s, failing to regain its 1862 level even twenty years later. In Midhurst, Cowdray House had always been close to the centre of the town (only 600 yards away), and interaction between the great house and the town had been strong. It was somewhat weakened as a result of failure to rebuild the house for some time after the disastrous fire of 1793, together with uncertainties about the future of the estate, but still in the mid century, Cowdray was closely involved with the life of the town.

The relationship between Goodwood and its market town was more complicated than for the other three estates. There was a three mile road journey to be undertaken from Goodwood House to Chichester, and the town had an additional role as the cathedral city. Nevertheless, it also fulfilled the function of market town for the surrounding agricultural area and provided a much needed venue where estate and town

1. J.Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland, 1883, (1971 edn.) p.334.

2. W.Cobbett, Rural Rides, 1830, p.119

3. Black, Guide To West Sussex, 1882, 102, 106, 121, 127, 133, 141, 145, 164,

could interact.

The most obvious and regular meeting place for estate and town was the weekly market day, which was in many ways the focal point for the members of the agricultural interest in the area. For the farmers it provided a chance of contact with other farmers, and it was often used as an opportunity to meet members of the estate staff.

In Chichester, the cattle market took place each Wednesday, the stalls and hurdles being laid out the previous day, and references to the occasion are frequent in the Goodwood Papers. Thomas Balmer recorded in one letter that 'I saw Mr..... at the beasts' market yesterday', and John Rusbridger reported to the Duke that 'Colonel
¹
Wyndham canvassed everyone at the beasts' market.'. The meetings were often more than mere chance, for contacts were hoped for in advance, or even planned. Balmer was urged that 'You had better see' one particular farmer at the market, and himself confessed to Arras that 'I hope to see' another of the farmers at the market the
²
following week. Balmer added a post script to one letter, promising that 'P.S. I will see you at Chichester on Wednesday', and representatives of other estates acted
³
in the same way too. The Cowdray agent promised Lord Egmont that he would go to
⁴
Chichester and 'I shall cause it to be paid as you direct on Wednesday.'

Rents were sometimes paid, bills were settled, improvements informally discussed, tenants in difficulty interviewed, messages delivered for those who could not attend, and many other forms of communication engaged in. Estate workers were paid to take animals there, and details of markets were reported in the local press. The economic

1. Goodwood ms. 1863 letter to Richmond from J. Rusbridger Apr 15, 1839.

2. Goodwood ms. E6103, Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to G. Rusbridger, May 12, 1851, T. Balmer to J. Sadler, Mar. 3, 1853,

3. Ibid. T. Balmer to J. Blake, Jan. 10, 1853, Cowdray ms. 1907, A. Brown to Egmont, July 24, 1856.

4. A.A. Dibben (ed.) Catalogue to the Cowdray Archives, 1960, p.xvii

function of the market was clearly important, but it fulfilled other roles too. It preserved lines of communication, it was a social event, and it had an educational function also. Agents of local firms were in attendance: Knight and Co. stored their resources of nitrophosphate of lime at the Canal Wharf, for example, and the newspaper advertised that the agent would attend the Wednesday market.¹

This local market was where the Estate took its stock and engaged in commercial transactions and where Chichester's role as a cathedral city became less important than that of market town. Representatives of other estates also attended the market - Alexander Brown of Cowdray has already been mentioned - and this was possible because of the timetable of days on which markets took place.² On Mondays, the cattle market in Arundel coincided with one in Steyning and a general market in Shoreham. Tuesday saw the Billingshurst market, one in Littlehampton and the Storrington cattle market. On Wednesdays, the Chichester cattle market and the Worthing markets were held, and Thursday was the day for Midhurst market. The Pulborough market on Fridays³ was followed by markets in Horsham and Petworth on Saturdays.

Some significance in the daily pattern of markets may be seen in the distance between towns which held them on the same days:

Monday	Arundel, Steyning, Horsham
Tuesday	Billingshurst, Littlehampton, Storrington
Wednesday	Chichester, Worthing
Thursday	Midhurst
Friday	Pulborough
Saturday	Horsham, Petworth

4

1. S.A.E. Apr 10, 1852

2. A.A. Dibben (ed.) Catalogue to the Cowdray Archives, 1960, p.xvii

3. S.A.E. Apr 10, 1852. S.A.E. Apr 10, 1852

The shortest distance between towns with markets on the same day seems to have been 15 miles on Wednesdays between Chichester and Worthing, and 18 on Saturdays between Horsham and Petworth - although the distance by road in 1850 was probably further than this. For the most part, coincident markets were between 15 and 20 miles apart, indicating perhaps that they served a maximum radius of about 10 miles by the mid nineteenth century, improved roads having increased this from the medieval radius of about five. None of the four towns in the west held markets on the same day.

Goodwood was also involved in local stock shows and annual fairs which provided focal points in the agricultural year, and were relevant to estate and town alike, the latter providing the venue. Exactly how many were held is uncertain, but even at the end of the century, there were still 27 annual fairs in existence in the county as a whole, and like the markets, they were staggered to provide interest throughout the agricultural year. When a new event was included, this pattern had to be taken into account, and in April 1862, the West Sussex Gazette announced that the newly established Sussex Fatstock Show would be held 'on Thursday and Friday the 4th and 5th of December next in order that it should not interfere with other local shows.'

In the west, the year began in October with Sloe Fair in Chichester, the principal horse trading fair. November brought the Steyning Fatstock and Poultry Show, and the

1. J.Lowerson, Victorian Sussex, 1972, p.40

2. W.S.G. Apr 3, 1862.

3. W.S.G. Nov 1/15/29, 1860; Chichester Journal Dec. 12, 1860.

Chichester Chrysanthemum and Fruit Show, and later in the month, Petworth, Pulborough and Midhurst Farmers' Club held its Corn and Roots Show, followed by the Arundel Christmas Show of Fatstock and Roots, and the Horsham Stock, Corn, Poultry and Roots¹ Show. January and February were mainly given over to social events - like the annual dinner of the Horsham Stock Market - and to planning, such as the Chichester Corn and Root Committee which began meeting each February.² April brought the Midhurst Fair, and June the Association of Meritorious Labourers at Goodwood with its sheep shearing and ploughing matches, followed by the Chichester Cattle Show, the Brighton and West Sussex Horticultural and Floricultural Show, and the Chichester Summer Flower Show.³ In July, the county's annual Wool Fair was held, and so was the Sussex County Stock Show. The harvesting months were left vacant.

Goodwood's relatively recent creation meant that no fairs were connected with the Richmonds. In other towns, some fairs had close connections with the landed family, such as the Midhurst Fair, which was one of three annual fairs granted to the fourth Viscount in 1682.⁴ The Chichester fairs tended to be long established, like Sloe Fair, for instance, but it would be wrong to see the situation in the mid century as static. One of the ways in which Richmond showed his influence was in ensuring that new events were added to the year.⁵ In 1853, the Chichester Wool Fair was set up,⁶ with the Goodwood agent playing an active part on the planning committee. Discussions as to the exact timing of the fair indicate a desire to capitalise on the maximum possible numbers of buyers and sellers, and to avoid the time of the well established Lewes Fair in late July. This was a huge event, which served the entire

1. W.S.G. Feb. 11, Apr. 12, 1860, Jan 17, Apr 11, June 7/14, July 11, 1861

2. W.S.G. Jan. 17, 1861, Feb.11,1860

3. W.S.G. Apr. 11,1861, June 7/14, 1861, July 11, 1861, April 12, 1860.

4. A.A. Dibben (ed) Catalogue to the Cowdray Archives, 1960, p.19

5. F.E. Sawyer, 'Sussex Folk Lore and Customs Connected with the Seasons, S.A.C. vol.33, 1883, p.249..

6. Goodwood ms E6104, R. Arras to J. Ellman, June 15, 1853.

county, and the committee settled for a date at the end of June. Goodwood maintained an active interest in the Lewes Fair as well, and this is indicated by a letter from the agent to his father, which states that 'we got prizes for both sheep and rams at
¹
Lewes last week.'. Fairs and shows might take place in the local towns, but landowners retained a high degree of control over them by being involved in the planning, by awarding prizes for categories they wished to encourage and by attending the shows themselves.

The involvement of landowners on planning committees for such events was crucial. During the 1850s, the Duke of Richmond was President of the Cattle Show, and of the West Sussex Agricultural Association and the new Wool Fair. Subscriptions for 1852/3, for example, included the usual local charities and schools, and several agricultural associations: the Cattle Show, the Horticultural Society, the Wool Fair,
²
the West Sussex Agricultural Association and the County Show among them. He presided over dinners and other social events connected with these societies, and the speeches he made at these events were reported at length in the local papers, providing further reinforcement of the links between town and estate. Talking of the Chichester Wool Fair, Richmond reassured the audience at the West Sussex Agricultural Association meeting of 1856 that 'these fairs are of great importance' and he told the East Sussex Agricultural Association that he 'took great pleasure in presiding
³
over agricultural meetings.'.

Landowners awarded prizes at the shows to stimulate good practice: Lord Egremont

1. Goodwood ms. E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R.Arras to his uncle, July 30, 1853.
2. Goodwood ms. E5409, Subscription list 1852/3
3. S.A.E. June 14, 1856

awarded a silver cup each year at the Storrington Fair, and Lord March presented a
1
silver medal for the best beast at the Chichester Show. Their employees entered
various classes at the shows alongside their tenants and other locals. The Duke of
Richmond's gardener was successful in the local show of 1860, for example, winning a
first for orchids, second prize for white grapes and cut flowers, and thirds for
peaches, store and greenhouse plants, and specimen plant in flower. In the same
month, the estate's livestock achieved two firsts, three second prizes, and a highly
2
commended at the County Stock Show for horses, sheep, pigs and rams.

In addition to the agricultural links provided by markets and shows, estate and town
were bound closely together because of the estate's need for the services of
tradesmen, manufacturers and professional men who were based in the town. Although
the Duke had bankers in the City of London, he also dealt with Gruggens, a local bank
3
in Chichester. Legal matters were referred to the solicitors, Rapers of Chichester,
and John Stapley, the surveyor employed by the estate was also based in the town.
Food for the House which could not be provided by the Home Farm was bought from a
variety of sources, including Chichester, and materials for estate enterprises often
came from local dealers. Silverlock, one of the Chichester firms, provided rock
salt, guano, linseed cake and grass seed in 1850, for example, and Purchase of
Chichester sold the Duke 40 tons of coal and rented the Duke a coal yard in the city
in the same year.[†] Tenant farmers were expected to obtain their estimates from firms
in Chichester when the work was outside the scope of the estate workers, or when they
were too busy. Hence the tender of R and C Vick, Builders of Chichester, was

1. S.A.E. Dec 1868.

2. W.S.G. Dec 12, 1860

3. W.S.G. June 7, 1860; Goodwood ms E5390, E5374-89, Account Books, Bank Pass Books

4. Goodwood ms E6103, Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to C. Stride, Mar. 21, 1851; T. Balmer to T. Cosens, Feb. 1, 1853.

accepted for the new buildings to be erected on Lavant Farm in 1851, and estimates were taken up from Messrs Johnson from Chichester for carpentry, and Messrs Knight¹ for plumbing and painting on Felpham Farm in 1853. The wide range of Chichester firms engaged in such transactions can be seen by examining the letters to tradesmen in the city sent by Thomas Balmer in 1851, asking for more details to be provided² before accounts could be settled. As communication became more and more exclusively of the written kind, it might not be so important to go to the local town, although there was an element of convenience in this, but the tradespeople were clearly used to verbal interchange and personal dealings with the estate, written communication being kept to a minimum. The basis of the relationship in Rusbridger's time had been the ongoing nature of employment by the job and a knowledge by each party of the other's obligations without detailed paper communication being needed. In this climate, the use of the local town was not only convenient, there was an element of deliberate strategy in using local firms where shared understandings were implicit, and face to face contact important. In addition, it was the tradesmen of Chichester who had the benefit of the premiums presented at the various shows and fairs, which often had to be spent in the town, and estate involvement in these events had the effect of encouraging competitions and raising standards.

Goodwood and Chichester were closely integrated in many ways, but there are indications that the mid century saw a shifting of perspective away from the local town, and towards larger centres. In 1854 Lord Henry Lennox had thought that 'the

1. Goodwood ms E5303, Estate Daybook, 1850

2. Goodwood ms E6103 Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to G. Knight, and to A. Davies, Jan. 1851.

energy of the farmers was quite miraculous to keep up in such splendour so many shows
¹
 within a few miles of each other.'. Such energy may have been 'miraculous' and it
 may also have been relatively recent in origin. Goddard notes that the only local
 Sussex agricultural societies in existence, according to The Agriculturist of January
²
 2nd, 1836, were those of Arundel, Lewes and Rye. Pointing out that the source is
 incomplete, Goddard names several counties which are known to have been well off for
³
 such societies, although not included on this list. The exceptions do not include
 Sussex, and he makes specific mention of the county as one of those which was not
 well served for such societies. Their growth and development in the late thirties,
 forties and fifties changed only a few years after Henry Lennox's commendation of the
⁴
 farmers' energy when the smaller shows began to attract less attention. 'Local shows
 are going woefully out of date' commented the West Sussex Gazette, and only fifteen
 head of stock appeared at the Midhurst Fair in 1861. The Sussex Agricultural Express
 commented that the Midhurst Fair used to be a good stock show 'but lately has been
⁵
 falling off.'. The very idea of money prizes for farming achievement was attacked
 at local shows and the Gazette pronounced that 'Farmers want no nursing up with
⁶
 premiums. What is the use of shows? The whole of England is open to them.'. Even
 the presence of estate personnel became a source of irritation and led to a feeling
 that since they had opportunities to experience stiffer competition at regional or
 national level, their expertise was discouraging locals from entering. Of the Duke
 of Richmond's gardener, it was said 'If Mr Cannon can go to Brighton and other large
⁷
 exhibitions, it is not very likely that he can be surpassed at Chichester.'. Some
 safeguards had been introduced - only one prize could be won by each person at the

1. Goodwood ms E6103 Agent's Letter Book, T. Balmer to G. Knight, and to A. Davies, Jan. 1851.

2. S.A.E. Dec 15, 1854

3. N. Goddard, 'Agricultural Societies' in Mingay (ed) The Victorian Countryside 1981, p.247

4. W.S.G. Dec. 6, 1860,

5. S.A.E. Apr. 10, 1862

6. W.S.G. Dec. 6, 1860.

7. S.A.E. Sept.21, 1867

Arundel Show, special categories were introduced for locals and only two prizes could be won by each competitor at the Chichester Show in order to prevent one or two competitors from taking all the prizes. One winner 'having taken a prize it was next awarded to the executors of Mr H. Upton of Binsted, but they having taken prizes, it goes back to the fund.'¹ Implicit in this is that there was more to the shows than a mere farming contest. Where straight competition was the only aim, restrictions on the number of prizes won would be unhelpful. The pursuit of excellence demanded that the highest achievement should be rewarded whoever received the prize. Where a paternalistic concern for participation, for a feeling of community involvement or for a shared experience, such concern might lead to restrictions of prizewinning in an attempt to leave prizes within the grasp of as many competitors as possible. It also encouraged a degree of paternalist control over leisure and the focal points of the agricultural year. E.P. Thompson has suggested that Church control was weakened when the Church lost command over the 'leisure of the poor, their feasts and festivals, and with this over a large area of plebeian culture'.² The concern for shows and fairs indicates a desire to retain this command over the wider agricultural community.

Initially, the drift away from the smaller shows benefited the larger towns in the area, and since the landowners were closely involved in regional affairs, they retained their influence. Chairman of the Sussex County Cattle Show was John Ellman, a substantial owner of land at Glynde in the eastern part of the county, and the President of the Petworth, Pulborough and Midhurst Farmers Club was W.B. Barttelot,

1. S.A.E. July 11, 1857

2. Ibid.

3. E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, 1974, p.391

owner of 3,633 acres of Sussex land, and who succeeded the Earl of March as M.P. when¹
the fifth Duke of Richmond died. The Goodwood Estate was not only involved with the
events in Chichester, but also with the Worthing Fair, with Lewes and Brighton, with
Ellman of Glynde, and in 1867, the sixth Duke of Richmond became the first President²
of the Southern Counties Association. There was awareness at the time that a shift
of emphasis from local to regional perspective was taking place, and concern that
Chichester should benefit from any changes, but the mutual stimuli of population
growth and transport development were not as active in the west of the county as they
needed to be.

Even before the coming of the railways, the pattern of roads connecting Chichester
with other centres was not as effective as it might have been. Local roads had a
poor reputation in the area. When Cobbett wanted innkeepers to direct him from
Petworth to Havant, he could get no directions and complained that 'they think you
are a strange fellow if you will not ride six miles on a turnpike, rather than two on
any other road.'³ The route he took went from East Dean, through Singleton via
another village which Cobbett took to be West Dean, but which was probably the hamlet
of Charlton, and this was the road which runs along the valley below Goodwood
Racecourse. The farms at East Dean, the Forest Farm, Charlton Farm and Singleton
Farm, all tenant farms on the Goodwood Estate, must have depended on this road to
travel by wagon, horse or on foot, for without climbing to the summit of the downs,
it was the only road north of the Lavants which ran in an east/west direction for
almost ten miles, and connected the two turnpikes, which gave access to Chichester to

1. J.Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland, 1883, (1971 edn.)
p.28.

2. Goodwood mss. E5304, Home Farm Account, 1854; S.A.E. June 10, 1867.

3. W.Cobbett, Rural Rides, 1830, p.124.

the south, or the markets of Petworth and Midhurst to the north. Cobbett was very pleased with the road, which he described as 'flinty and very flinty', and despite the fact that it rained and he was deep in the valley below Goodwood, he declared that 'I am very glad that I came this road.'¹ By the 1850s, however, it was showing itself to be inadequate, even for the local farming traffic, and its state was giving cause for concern. Constant flooding by the stream which ran alongside the road was to be overcome by diverting the stream's course onto the present road, and rebuilding alongside. The Duke's contribution was to be in the form of land only, with the farmers providing labour, and a subscription was to be raised to pay for materials.² Even when small, virtually self supporting farming communities existed, the network of local roads was not always sufficient to accommodate the needs of the agricultural community. Not all roads were ideally situated for the farmers: Decoy Farm was situated at the end of a long and winding, circuitous lane which was at times impassable, and the Goodwood agent thought it detracted from the farm.

Even if the Duke's contribution to local roads was cursory, and much was left to the farmers, his estate's involvement in areas beyond the immediate vicinity was clear. Water transport was important, for the Sussex coastline is long, and there are navigable rivers which flow in a north/south direction. An Act of 1791 had enabled work to be carried out to make the western Rother navigable as far as Midhurst. The Wey and Arun canal had been opened in 1813, the Arundel and Portsmouth soon after, and the Chichester canal in 1823.³ Chichester itself had considerable importance as a corn and cattle centre and large loads could be shipped to the city by barge when the

1. W.Cobbett, Rural Rides, 1830, p.124.

2. Goodwood ms. E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to W.Slater Turner, Aug.8,1853 and T. Balmer's comments, Apr.1,1853.

3. P.A.Vine, London's Lost Route to the Sea, 3rd edn., 1973, pp. 68 & 78..

Estate produce was very bulky. A plane tree '117 feet round' was sent from Goodwood on one of the Chichester canal barges, and other estates used water transport too: timber was sent from Cowdray 'on board the barge "City of Chichester" this day April 21st, 1843 in Midhurst Wharf and Ambersham Bridge'.¹ The Cowdray estate actually owned the wharf keeper's cottage, and part of it was let to the keeper free of rent.

Goodwood was able to take advantage of the thriving coastal traffic, connecting the county with London, with the north of England, with Scotland and with France. Situated on an arm of Chichester Harbour, Dell Quay provided a wharf where cargoes could be unloaded. Considerable weights could be carried, such as the 49 sacks of oak bark shipped on board the schooner 'Seaman' in 1847, and the ten sacks of acorns which the Goodwood agent sent to Aberdeen on the steamer 'but we are so busy that a man could not be spared to go with them.'²

In addition to water transport, the Goodwood estate took advantage of railway developments. The major Sussex lines were all built in the quarter century between 1839 and 1864. The debate which raged so bitterly over whether the route for the line to connect Sussex with London should go from the capital to Brighton via Shoreham, or Shoreham via Brighton was significant for the estates of the west, for it meant that whatever the decision, all Sussex rail traffic to London had to go via Brighton.³ The choice of the direct route, cutting as it did through the chalk of the north downs, striking across the wealden clay, crossing the Ouse valley on a huge viaduct, and then tunnelling under the south downs through the long Pyecombe Tunnel

1. Goodwood ms 1863, J. Rusbridger to Richmond, Mar 21, 1838; Cowdray ms 1868, Timber Day Book, April 21, 1843.
2. Cowdray ms 1868, Timber Day Book, 1847; Goodwood ms. E6105, Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to T. Balmer, Sep. 17, 1855
3. H. Turner, The London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, vol.1. 1977, pp. 26-39, 65-115.

resulted in phenomenal costs. £40,000 per mile probably had some effect on the building, (or lack of building) north across similar obstacles in the west in subsequent decades, when further railway building took more account of geographical features.¹

The rail connection between Chichester and London (albeit via Brighton) benefited the estates of the west, particularly after the construction of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway was completed, because for the first time efficient east/west travel in the county was possible. No turnpikes had run in this direction, except between Chichester and Portsmouth, and between Shoreham and Brighton, but by 1852, it was possible to travel the entire breadth of the county, from Rye in the east, to Chichester, the Hampshire border and beyond, by rail.² This meant that by 1850 the Goodwood and Arundel estates had relatively easy access to railway stations which were connected to Portsmouth, to Brighton and other south coast resorts, and to London itself. As a result, the Goodwood estate benefited from the relative ease with which passengers could come in and out of the area as a result of railway development.³ In July 1860, the West Sussex Gazette commented that 'the railway has superseded the carriage traffic greatly, particularly from the east, and the number of people visiting the races has grown as the facilities of getting there increased.'⁴ In their agricultural enterprises too travel by rail quickly became commonplace, and was only mentioned in the estate papers when something remarkable happened. In 1858, the farm manager had to report that 'I am sorry to inform you that our sheep met with an accident going to Salisbury show a spark from the engin

1. J.Lowerson, Victorian Sussex, 1972, p.15.

2. J.Lowerson, op. cit p.15.

3. St.John Thomas in H.P. White (ed.) Railways: a Regional History vol.2 Southern England, 1969, p.99.

4. W.S.G. July 24, 1860.

set the straw on fire which burned the Sheep so that we could not show them The Rams wer not so much hurt singed a little and damaged with the Water thrown on them and I think we will be able to save the Life of all the ewes but two of them are very much
¹ Burnt Henry the Shepherd had a near escape as he was in the vane along with them'. This use of rail travel to get men and animals to shows outside Sussex was frequent: when free rail travel was offered for sheep travelling to the Royal Agricultural Show
² in 1853, Goodwood took advantage of the offer. Considerable distances were traversed by rail, but transport arrangements could be expensive when payment was per head of livestock, and the travel options had to be juggled to get the best possible arrangement: 'Last year I grudged the cost of bringing them home verray much 20/10 Each This year I bargained with the North British Rail from Falkirk to Barnet, then walked them across the country to Goodwood The arrived the little worse of their
³ journey and only cost me 15/-.'

This reaching beyond the immediate area was important for an area like the west of Sussex, where population growth was sluggish in the nineteenth century. Ernle saw the creation of growing markets as an essential component in stimulating agricultural production in the nineteenth century, and more recently Adams has shown how significant were the growing industrial centres of the West Riding in stimulating the
⁴ agricultural development of the neighbouring East Riding. Sussex had no large industrial centres: the seaside resorts were the closest it came to markets which expanded dramatically, and these were almost exclusively in the east. The new railways threw the weight of development in the county firmly eastward, where

1. Goodwood ms. Letter from T. Clark, Farm Bailiff, Jul.1857.
2. Goodwood ms. E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to L.B.S.C.R. Jun.28, 1853.
3. Goodwood ms Letter from Thomas Clark, Farm Bailiff, Jul.1858.
4. M. Adams, Agricultural Change in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1850-80, unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Hull, 1957, p.10.

population increase, prosperity in the resorts, trade and passenger traffic moved¹
with the railways in an upward spiral, leaving the rural west to lag behind.

Although the original prospectus for the Shoreham to Chichester railway had been issued 'for a line as far as Chichester, an ancient cathedral city and centre for the agricultural district', and although the city remained the focus of local agricultural activity in the south west of Sussex, one effect of this rail link was²
to reinforce the east as the focal point of the county as a whole. There was resistance from Goodwood, and from Chichester itself: in 1860, there was a debate as to whether the county cattle show should be held in Chichester or in Rye. The towns offered financial backing, and when Chichester bettered by £30 Rye's offer of £70,³
the show was held in Chichester. The Gazette commented on the longstanding rivalry between the men of east and west and noted that most of the prizes were carried off⁴
by the men of eastern Sussex. The sheep breeders of the east - principally John Ellman of Glynde and Mr Rigden of Hove vied with the Duke of Richmond in the battle for supremacy in the breeding of southdown sheep, and even after the fifth Duke's death in 1860, pens of sheep which had 'been prepared while he was still alive', were⁵
sent to Smithfield Show 'to try to beat his old rival, Mr Rigden of Hove.'. In 1864, the Sussex County Fatstock show was held in Brighton, which was by far the easiest place to get to, as it could be approached by road or rail, from the north, west or east, and the show was actually held in the L.B.S.C.R. rail shed, so that⁶
participants would not have difficulty in travelling. When it was suggested that the county show be held in the town in 1862, the Gazette commented 'Brighton is now the

1. J. Lowerson, Victorian Sussex, 1972, p.24.

2. J. Lowerson, op. cit., 1972, p.15

3. W.S.G. Apr.12, 1860.

4. W.S.G. July 19, 1860.

5. W.S.G. Nov. 1860

6. S.A.E. Dec.3, 1864

metropolis of Sussex. It has a large consuming population, and is accessible from
all parts of the county.'¹

By this time, the west of the county had lost much of its prestige. In the mid thirties, the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond and the Earl of Egremont occupied key positions, Richmond and Egremont being particularly influential in their national and local leadership. Egremont was succeeded as Lord Lieutenant by Richmond, Norfolk being barred from holding the office because of his Roman Catholic faith.² By 1860, all three were dead, Egremont in 1837 was succeeded by his illegitimate son who displayed none of the leadership qualities his father had had; Norfolk died in 1856,³ his son died four years later and was succeeded by an heir aged only thirteen. The sixth Duke of Richmond succeeded his father in 1860, had an active political career and was engaged in national agricultural affairs at a level and to a degree which his father had avoided after the Corn Laws were repealed. The new Lord Lieutenant was the Earl of Chichester whose lands were in the east of the county, and the west had lost three of its champions of that paternalism which was so firmly based on and integrated with the old rural structures.⁴

Rail connections meant that older towns which had been important trading centres, were in danger of losing their supremacy in favour of others, economic and demographic factors being closely intertwined. Cobbett had described Arundel as 'a grand receiving and distributing place', but the development of Littlehampton as a port was rapid, and removed much of the trade that had been Arundel's.⁵

1. W.S.G. Feb. 27, 1862

2. D.A. Smith, 'The Richmond Interest and Party Politics' in S.A.C. vol.117, 1979, p.206

3. Lord Egremont, Wyndham and Children First, 1968, p.45; J.M. Robinson, The Dukes of Norfolk, 1983, pp. 211,214.

4. T. McCann. Royal Letters, 1977, p.20.

5. W.Cobbett, Rural Rides, 1830, p.117.

In the west, Chichester was still the largest town in the area in 1831, but after this point, its population growth slowed dramatically. The decade 1831-41 showed an increase of only 342, compared to 908 between 1821 and 1831, and this trend continued, increasing by only 135 up to the mid century. By this time, the city had a population of 8,647 people, and could still claim to be the most populous town in the west. An increase of 237 brought the town to its 19th century population peak in 1861, and thereafter, the numbers fell by nearly 700 in the following decade. The towns of the east provided a considerable contrast. In the 50 years from 1801, Brighton grew from 7,339 inhabitants to 65,569, and added nearly 25,000 more by 1871.

Some of the other resorts grew impressively too - Eastbourne, Hastings and Hove for example - and not only were the towns developing, but the surrounding parishes were similarly affected. For a market town, these parishes were of significance, and in the Chichester area, population loss was evident early in the century. By 1821, eight parishes in the Chichester Rape had reached their population peak, and six of these contained Goodwood Farms, or were very close to the estate (including Boxgrove itself). The process continued, until by 1861, only Singleton, Eartham, Oving, South Bersted, Barnham and Felpham were still growing, out of the 18 which housed Goodwood farms or Estate enterprises.¹

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This population loss was mirrored in the other three estates in the west: Arundel grew more slowly than Chichester, and reached its peak in 1851; the numbers fell and rose again in 1871. The same pattern was repeated at Midhurst, which grew slowly to 1851, fell slightly and then rose again. Petworth's peak was also in 1851, but when

1. See table 33

the numbers began to fall, they continued to do so. Within the rapes of Arundel and Chichester, 67 parishes had reached their peak by 1861, 57 of these by 1851, and¹ population generally was falling in the area. It was clear by the mid century that there was a growing gulf between the experiences of the rapidly industrialising counties and the others - Clapham described East Yorkshire, Devon and the southern² counties- including Sussex- as 'counties of maximum rusticity'. With a convoluted journey to the capital from Goodwood, and with no rapidly developing markets in the west of Sussex, does this mean that there was no scope for development? It is significant that although the population of Sussex kept pace with the national average increase in the nineteenth century, 119 of the county's settlements actually³ lost population during the century, most of them in the west.

The failure of the Bognor to Chichester railway schemes deprived the cathedral city of a direct rail connection with with the fastest growing town in the area, and delayed the building of a line connecting Goodwood with its market town. A proposal to build a line from Bognor to Midhurst via Chichester, made in the 1850s specifically to divert trade from Horsham to the cathedral city, failed despite the advantages which the Gazette pointed out it would bring to Chichester market, and to⁴ Goodwood. The idea was revived in 1860, but was again rejected. As a result there is not the pattern of lines converging on Chichester which there might have been, and which there was in Brighton. This pattern was again reinforced when the Cowdray and Petworth estates received their rail connections in the mid sixties and the lines built linked them with mid Sussex and with Hampshire, rather than with Chichester.

1. See table 33

2. Clapham An Economic History of Modern Britain, quoted in Mingay, (ed.) The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.11.

3. J.Lowerson, Victorian Sussex, 1972, p.12.

4. W.S.G. May 17, Nov 8, 1860

The L.B.S.C.R./L.S.W. agreement to keep out of each other's territories made the west of Sussex the extreme fringe of L.B.S.C.R. territory. The border was roughly the line taken by the present Godalming/ Guildford/ Haslemere/ Havant/ Portsmouth line, and not surprisingly, the companies decided not to develop such a rural area, concentrating on connecting the resorts of the east with each other, with inland towns in the area, and with London. From 1846-61, all rail traffic from Chichester to London had to go through Brighton; from 1861 it could go via Shoreham, and from 1863, it could use the Arundel/Pulborough line, but Chichester and Goodwood never¹ achieved a direct rail link with the capital.

Although transport had improved on what had existed before, communications were still far from ideal. One striking difference between the Sussex newspapers of the sixties and those of earlier decades is that the speeches of the agriculturists were no longer reported verbatim. The Sussex Agricultural Express and West Sussex Gazette had been very important in publishing the philosophy of Richmond and others. They were based in Brighton, and as the pace of communication increased elsewhere in the county, the newspapers began to work at a rate with which transport to the west could not compete. When the dinner was served late at the Wool Fair in 1856, the reporter from the Sussex Agricultural Express had to leave early in order to catch the last train and 'many persons were compelled to leave the fair before the dinner was half² over.'. Instead of verbatim reporting of the landowner's thoughts, there were apologies for the lack of detailed accounts of the speeches 'as these were taking³ place when we went to press.'.

1. H. Turner, The London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, vol.2, 1978, p.78.
2. S.A.E. Supplement, June 28, 1856.
3. W.S.G. Dec.12, 1860

Regional events were becoming more significant, but there was a broader perspective to be considered. The Gazette was anxious to promote national shows, particularly Smithfield, 'which enabled agriculturists' to 'judge between middling and very good.¹', and Goodwood was able to hold its own in the national arena. In December 1860, Sussex carried off the greatest number of prizes of any county in England, and most of the sheep prizes, including the shortwool gold medal, were won by John Kent of the Home Farm.² It was noted that 'In southdown sheep, men such as the Duke of Richmond, Mr Rigden, Mr Heasman and others overtop the world', although from time to time there was disappointment because 'It is regretted that the Duke of Richmond's name does not appear among the prizewinners'.³ The Home Farm prepared ahead for its shows, the agent assuring the Duke that 'Cole has been in today. The sheep have never been so good. He wants to do Birmingham and has enough to do London and that as well.'⁴ As well as Smithfield, the Windsor Horse Show, Barnet Fair and shows at Lincoln, Salisbury and the Crystal Palace Poultry Show were among those attended. Even international competition was not shunned, and in 1866, the sixth Duke won a first prize 'in an international exhibition' for his pineapples.⁵

Additional to these activities was a set of purely idiosyncratic relationships engaged in by the estate as a result of Richmond's inheriting the Gordon Estates from his maternal uncle. The journey to Inverness was long and difficult and Richmond had only once met his uncle at Edinburgh when the latter was governor of the Castle.⁶ Nevertheless once having inherited the estates, Richmond strengthened links between Goodwood and the Scottish Estates. Each year he spent several months at Gordon

1. W.S.G. Dec.12, 1860

2. W.S.G. Feb.27, 1862

3. W.S.G. Jul.15, 1860

4. Goodwood ms. E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to T. Balmer Oct.13, 1853

5. Goodwood ms. E5304, Home Farm Account 1855/6, Letter from T.Clark, Nov. 1858, Feb/Jy/Aug 1859; S.A.E. Jun.2, 1866

6. G. Gordon, The Last Dukes of Gordon and their Consorts, 1743-1864, 1980, p.188.

Castle, and other members of the family visited the estates at other times. When problems were encountered with the agent at Goodwood, it was one of the Gordon Castle Employees who was sent south to straighten out the books, and the son of the Gordon Castle agent became the next Goodwood agent in late 1850. He went back to Scotland¹ and his successor made several trips north of the border in the mid 1850s. The farm manager also came from Scotland, and in 1859, one of the Goodwood shepherds was taken to Scotland, and attended at least one of the shows there 'Old Mr Cole is quit (sic) delighted with his trip to Scotland he was the lion of the showyard among the shepherd I saw him with about two dozen round him and the Gordon Castle shepherd² acting as interpreter.'. Another reference to 'bringing mares from Doncaster' could indicate a purchase from a fair in that district, or more likely, an exchange with³ the Gordon Castle drovers at that point.

To summarise the evidence so far, it is clear that estate and town were closely connected geographically, commercially and culturally. Landlords were able to exercise a considerable degree of control through the part they played in planning and in encouraging particular shows through the awarding of prizes and through their sheer physical presence, which gave them an opportunity to express their philosophy both to those present and on a wider level, to readers of the newspapers. The move towards regional and national events, facilitated by transport developments resulted in a shift of emphasis towards the east of the county, and Goodwood was engaged in a further set of relationships involving the Duke's other estates in Scotland.

1. Goodwood ms. E6104, Agent's Letter Book, 18th Mar. 1853; R.Arras to T.Balmer 12th Oct, 1853; 1743, Letters from E.Wagstaff to A.Hair, 1850.
2. Goodwood ms. Letter from T. Clark, Farm Bailiff, Aug 1859.
3. Goodwood ms. E6104, Agent's Letter Book, Bill Aug 20, 1853.

In the light of the tight-knit structure of the estate and its relationships, how could a paternalistic approach survive beyond the boundaries of the estate? First, there seems to be some evidence that despite the fact that some estates were loosening the ties between estate and town, this did not happen at Goodwood. Second, although changing priorities within agriculture did result in rural areas like the west of Sussex becoming less important commercially, they did so in a way which left the landowner's position intact. Third, this very bypassing of the area enabled the structure of rural life to continue unthreatened, while it became possible for people to travel more easily and to take what they needed in terms of good practice from elsewhere. The rusticity of Sussex might suggest its atypicality, but although 50% of the national population might live in towns by the time of the 1851 census, this accounted for less than 50% of the country's geographical area, and there were many¹ other areas like Sussex where rural life still prevailed.

The distancing of estate and town took different forms. Sometimes this distancing was geographical, as in Midhurst, where the rebuilding of Cowdray House took place further away from the local town. The purchase of the Cowdray estate by Lord Egmont in 1843 meant that, for the first time, one of the major estates in the west was² owned by a landowner whose principal estates and residence were elsewhere. The fact that this is worth remarking on, and yet Egmont's main estates were only in the adjacent county of Surrey illustrates the measure of control and the degree of presence the western estates had been used to. On other estates the distancing took different forms. At Petworth, Charles Wyndham refused to let his wife get out of her

1. B. Marsh, The agricultural labour force of England and Wales in 1851. Unpub.M.Phil.thesis, Kent, 1977, Chapter One.
2. Cowdray ms 1909, Sale of Estate, 1843.

carriage in the town of Petworth, and all interaction with the local people was out of the question. President of the Petworth Farmers Club was Lord Egmont from Midhurst, and although Wyndham allowed their annual dinner to take place on the tennis courts at Petworth House, this situation was a far cry from his father's day¹ when involvement with the locals was the order of the day. Lord Egremont had made sure he was involved in leading all their attempts at improvement and the development of rural skills, setting up their agricultural association, speaking at their meetings and dinners, funding charitable institutions and being personally involved² with tenants, labourers and townspeople. It was at Arundel, however, that the most tangible changes of all took place. The town had grown up around the castle, but the nineteenth century saw a deliberate long term policy to make town and castle separate. The entrance to the castle was resited, roads were redirected and land given to the townspeople in exchange for their rights to worship in the Castle's Fitzalan Chapel and the Duke of Norfolk built a new town hall for them as³ compensation.

The whole question of the estate's relationship with the local town is a complex one, because it was the market town which had provided the commercial focus for the area. Despite close estate/town links in many ways, in terms of the interaction between the aristocratic families and the local townspeople, all these estates were moving away from the traditional relationships. In the forties and fifties, Goodwood seems to have been something of an exception. Perhaps spurred on by his disappointment at Repeal, and limited to an extent by ill health, the fifth Duke's involvement in local affairs seems unusual. Nevertheless, the strong sense of responsibility for his dependents which Roberts saw as so essential to the paternalistic landowner in early

1. Lord Egremont, Wyndham and Children First, 1968, p.52.

2. H.Wyndham, A Family History, vol. 2, 1950, pp.300-314; Lord Egremont, Wyndham and Children First, 1968, p.29.

3. G.W.Eustace, Arundel: Borough and Castle, 1922, p.233.

Victorian times was deeply ingrained in the Richmonds. Even in 1884, when 882 tenants of his Scottish estates presented him with a portrait of himself to which they had subscribed, the sixth Duke said he saw them all as members of one large, vast and, I
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am happy to be able to add, united family.'.

This might have been his father speaking, and there is no doubt that stability at Goodwood contributed to a strong set of paternal relationships, which was unusual for this time, even for the west of Sussex. The fifth Duke had succeeded to the title in 1819, and for the next 85 years, he and his son were masters at Goodwood. Martins identified such continuity as significant in maintaining close paternal control at Holkham, and the sixth Duke of Richmond underlined that the ongoing nature of the
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Estate's philosophy at Goodwood was consciously carried out. He revealed that his father's ambition was that when he died 'his tenantry should never have occasion to know where he finished and his son began.' and the sixth Duke said 'this is my desire
3
also.'. The first factor in the survival of paternalistic relationships at Goodwood lay in the continuatuiou between estte and town under these two Dukes. Nevertheless, hand in hand with continuity went change, and it was out of this change that a second significant factor emerged.

The philosophy of the Richmonds was being expressed in a changing world. The estate system was a microcosm of a hierarchical society, but it was also part of a much larger world, and it was important that the Estate's involvement in it was carried out in such a way that the landowner's position remained intact. The Goodwood Papers

1. Sir E. Clark, 'The Sixth Duke of Richmond' in J.R.A.S.E. vol.64 of entire series, 1903, p.9

2. S.W. Martins, A Great Estate at Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the 19th Century, 1980, p.66.

3. Sir E. Clark, 'The Sixth Duke of Richmond' in J.R.A.S.E. vol.64 of entire series, 1903, p.9

show involvement in regional and national agricultural affairs, but not that the area became a focal point in such developments. The establishing of the Chichester Wool Fair could be seen as active intervention by the Goodwood management to alter this situation and to bolster Richmond's position. It might be interpreted as a bid to make the west, with Chichester as its centre, at least as significant in terms of sheep and wool as the developing east. The biggest wool fair in the county was held at Lewes each year, and this town was less than forty miles from Chichester. It was not that it was hard to get to Lewes from the west: transport had never been easier in that there was a rail link which connected Chichester and Arundel with the town. It may be significant that Lewes itself had been eclipsed and bypassed by Brighton and other coastal resorts, yet through this massive wool fair each July, it retained an important place in the agricultural life of the south of England. Establishing such a fair in Chichester would provide the west with an annual event, a regular part of the agricultural year, which would draw in large numbers from a wide area with the Duke of Richmond in a key position. The desire for a large event was evident: discussions as to how to capitalise on the largest possible number of buyers and sellers resulted in the choice of a date a month before Lewes, the Goodwood agent acting as secretary to the committee which set up the Fair. The Duke of Richmond was the President and guest of honour at the dinner which followed the Fair at the Dolphin in Chichester. The closeness of identification between the Goodwood estate and the Wool Fair was underlined in 1860 when the fifth Duke of Richmond was unable to attend because of illness, and the Earl of March was engaged on Parliamentary business, and it was the Goodwood agent, Captain Valentine, (rather than one of the other leading figures from

1. Goodwood ms E6104, Agent's Letter Book, R. Arras to J. Ellman, Jun 15, 1853.
2. W.S.G. July 4, 1860.

the agricultural life of the area) who presided.

The way in which Richmond was able to retain important positions in the changed agricultural world can be seen in the three new events which had been absorbed into the Sussex agricultural calendar by the 1860s. Initiator of the Chichester Wool Fair, first president of the Southern Counties Association, and keen supporter of the Sussex Fatstock Show, the Duke was one of the first to realise that change was essential. Landowners who wanted to remain in leadership positions could accept change because it had always been a part of the life of the countryside. The pace of change might be stately, and it might have to take place with the landowners as initiators, but rural society could accommodate it. When Acland revived the Bath and West Show in the 1850s, competitive trials were abolished and replaced by exhibitions. This was a new departure, but very soon, 50,000 people were visiting

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the Show annually. Dissatisfaction with trials and the prize system at the Royal Agricultural Society's Show finally caused the implement manufacturers to boycott the

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Show of 1860, and numbers attending dropped by 50%. In the Sussex fatstock show, begun in 1861, the tradition of valuing older stock was altered, prizes being given for young animals, so that by 1861, 'the show of beasts was unquestionably one of the

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best which has ever taken place in the locality.'. Change in agriculture was inevitable and 'in Sussex this change' has been as visible as it has anywhere'.

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Crucial was the fact that Richmond should lead this change and that such leadership should be publicly seen. If it was of a national body, the local press could be relied upon to report his involvement back in Sussex. The flexibility of paternalism to adapt to different situations which Roberts described meant that the sixth Duke could move into the national agricultural arena with relative ease, and he could do

1. W.S.G. Jul. 12, 1860.

2. N. Goddard, 'Agricultural Societies' in Mingay (ed) The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.251.

3. N. Goddard, 'Agricultural Societies' in Mingay (ed) The Victorian Countryside, 1981, p.251.

4. S.A.E. Apr.3, 1862

5. W.S.G. Feb.27, 1862

this whilst the structure of rural society in the west of Sussex remained very much as it always had.

Third, the very bypassing of the area by industrial and urban development allowed that the structure of rural life to continue unthreatened and permitted a paternalistic approach to remain relevant at Goodwood. Whilst it is true that Richmond's lands did not bring him rapidly increasing industrial revenues, the sixth Duke did inherit the benefits of a cautious and prudent predecessor who left no major debts, and an estate with a sound financial footing and an efficient management structure. He could afford to build 400 cottages on his estates, to renovate the inside of Goodwood House and to equip it with a new water system and its own gas¹ lighting. It is doubtful whether he would have had the fifth Duke's detailed knowledge of individual tenants and of their cottages, or to have dealt with individual tenant requests for repairs. On the other hand, the benefit of an efficient system of estate management meant he could spend more time at Gordon Castle, working on the Scottish estates as well as becoming involved in national agricultural matters. National agricultural bodies existed, rather than having to be set up as in the fifth Duke's time. There might have been fewer regional activities for him to be involved in, but with Wyndham, Norfolk and Egmont less involved, Richmond moved into the dominant position as the leader of agricultural matters in the west of Sussex.

What this analysis of relationships which the estate engaged in with agencies outside

1. J.Kent, Records and Reminiscences of the Dukes of Richmond, 1896, p. 191.

itself has shown is the flexibility of paternalism to cope with change and with distance. Neither the model advanced by Roberts, nor that of E.P.Thompson entirely satisfies the evidence from Goodwood with its need to deal with small, face to face¹ contact as well as much more widely ranging relationships. Thus the changing situation of the sixties meant that distances could be accommodated within a paternalistic framework, and Richmond still talked of duty and responsibility to those within his sphere. He was aware that he had 'inherited very great responsibilities' and assured his tenants that 'It is my duty to look after the interests myself, personally, individually, of the humblest crofter on this estate as well as of the wealthiest tenant' and his audience was more than five hundred miles from Goodwood, where he would make the same assurances of detailed personal care to² his Sussex tenants.

1. D.Roberts Paternalism in Early Victorian England, 1979, p.270; E.P.Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', Journal of Social History, 1974.
1. Sir E. Clark, 'The Sixth Duke of Richmond' in J.R.A.S.E. vol.64 of entire series, 1903, p.9

CONCLUSION

The many facets of estate life provide a rich source through which to investigate the process of change and the surviving Goodwood Papers make it possible to study a small community and the interaction of the individuals within it. The retention of social control, agricultural improvement and the economic position of the landowner are reflected in the study's findings.

The evidence has shown that a traditional social pyramid existed in mid nineteenth century Sussex. The landownership pattern which has been found indicates that although it was not dominated by the aristocracy, the county was closely controlled by them, aided by the fact that great landowners were less significant in Sussex than F.M.L.Thompson found elsewhere. Richmond wanted to adhere to traditional mores and his social outlook - outdated in some ways - flourished on an estate in a rural area where change was not forced by rapid industrialisation or urbanisation. Flexible enough to accommodate agricultural improvement and a developing management structure, his approach even arrived at a synthesis of some commercial practices and older modes of operation.

Custom provided cohesion for economic and social relationships. Legislation was less important in this philosophy because of commonly understood roles and relationships, rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities. Key rituals were enacted at Goodwood and in Chichester, reaffirming mutual concern and support, making publicly explicit the implicit assumptions which underpinned rural society. This pattern of events through the agricultural year had the authority of tradition, but was amended to suit current needs. Even in a new situation, assumptions about society remained constant: it was hierarchical and led by those who had always held leadership positions.

The fifth Duke supported custom and agreement and mistrusted legislation. To Richmond, reliance upon law meant that the cohesive forces of rural society were being weakened by preventing people from adopting attitudes and taking on responsibilities which were rightfully theirs. Nevertheless, he wanted Protectionist legislation to support him on Repeal, and was unwilling to rely on custom. This apparent inconsistency is explained by his concept of Repeal as an attack on the twin pillars of Church and State. Gone would be those obligations, duties and responsibilities attached to social status which had enabled society to operate.

It was within this framework of custom expressed through ritual that the estate operated and the labourers worked. The study has tested theory against practice in the workings of Richmond's paternalism. It has shown that Richmond had his own style of paternalism, different from that of his uncle, or from Egremont, and yet different again from his contemporaries. Richmond's decision to spend more time at Goodwood after Repeal was significant in developing paternalism at Goodwood. Thus face to face contact between paternalist and dependents could be maintained and Richmond never tired of providing detailed examples of labourers he knew, cottages he had visited, farmers he could quote or examples from the experiences of those on his estate. The flexibility of paternalism meant that in a wider perspective, a landowner such as the sixth Duke could protect his position, although it was harder to make the estate significant in regional terms, and the change of Dukes in 1860 provided opportunities for change.

Goodwood provides a rare opportunity to see the estate of a committed Protectionist coming to terms with Repeal. Bentinck was dead, Buckingham was bankrupt, but Richmond elected to return to his estate and spend more time there in the post-Repeal

period. His negative perspective and caution were offset by the positive approach of Balmer, Arras and Valentine after 1850. This has underlined the fact that the human factor ultimately determines rates of progress and change, making Richmond's perspective important. Additionally, the social context within which the estate operated was at least as significant as geographical factors, and although the latter are given prominence in some regional studies, landownership and social control need further investigation to set alongside processes of agricultural change. Modification and rationalisation of boundaries were evident at Goodwood for, in this way, the estate could accommodate change and survive without losing its essential character.

Thus the fifth Duke was able to retain social control, but his problem was to increase the productivity of the countryside without disturbing traditional hierarchies and the study shows how this was achieved. Repeal had the effect of making farming an issue during the debates of the mid-forties, and of making explicit the philosophy on which the running of Richmond's estate was based. Although the protagonists were debating a legislative change, they frequently concentrated on practical farming, on inter-class relationships in the agricultural interest and on the relative positions of agriculture and industry. Thus debate focused on what constituted good and bad farming practice and landowners like Richmond made public statements which could and can be tested against performance on their estates. The conflict between Richmond's paternalism and the growing autonomy of the tenants created a tension within social relationships, which ended with his death in 1860. It throws up the question of whether an aristocratic landlord could actually carry out his paternalistic role in the face of growing independence of his tenant farmers.

Shifts within the unregenerated social framework existed but did so at Goodwood in a way which still left intact the centrality of landowner as initiator. Richmond saw himself as leader of agricultural improvement, and complex factors in the spread of good practice included a range of activities from national shows and journals which the landowner encouraged to individual farm-based improvements. These varied and were initiated by tenant, agent or landowner, in the repair and improvement schedules, on a change of tenancy or as part of a longer programme. The success of the farmers during the fifties and sixties was partly due to national prosperity and favourable weather, but the study shows that the 1849-53 depression was also significant. At Goodwood, one quarter of the farmers quit during those years. The full effects of this depression would repay further study in other regions and on other estates to determine what effect it had on prosperity. Explicit statements of the aims, methods and strategies of good farming made a few years before this, followed by the pressure in those years squeezing out those who were in difficulty may have contributed to later high standards by removing many weaker farmers at a time when clarity of purpose and favourable conditions were combining to enable farmers to move forward.

The Goodwood Papers demonstrate that farming practice was an issue with which the management concerned itself in the 1850s and 60s. A variety of farming standards existed on the estate in line with what has been found elsewhere. The improvement process was clearly happening later at Goodwood than in some other areas, East Anglia for example, although that kind of improvement which was later to be covered by the Agricultural Holdings Act was already taking place at Goodwood.

The context within which the estate operated, however, did not encourage change.

Factors which promoted change at Goodwood included the 1849-53 depression, and also reorientation after the death of Rusbridger. It confirms Kerr's and Thompson's findings on what a devastating experience this could be, but at Goodwood the chance to change was turned to positive advantage. A positive approach was adopted in which Balmer was given more autonomy and the development of a real estate hierarchy dates from this point. This process involved defining areas of responsibility, keeping control of the degree of power at each level, and delineating individual spheres of influence, always bearing in mind lines of responsibility and channels of communication. It was probably this very structure which enabled later agents to play greater part in public activities as lower grade non-professional tasks could be delegated. The leadership aspect of the agent's role was important, it confirms Wade Martins, Beastall, Acland and Adams's findings, and might repay wider investigation.

The variation in farming standards found on the estate echoes that found at Holkham, and the changing size of farms confirms Beckett's findings that a move towards large farms was not a universal aim among landlords. The advantage to estates from having more middle sized units needs to be tested elsewhere, but the study has shown that at Goodwood it contributed to higher farming standards, for most of the poor farmers came from the smaller farms in 1849-53 and most of the good or outstanding farmers in the late 60s farmed medium sized units. It is clear too that different timetables of improvement operated in different regions. Did they all go through the same stages in same order but at different rates? There is too little evidence as yet, but certainly Sussex reached some phases of improvement later than Holderness found in East Anglia.

Finally, the study shows that Richmond's financial state was vital, and

the paternalistic function of the landowner cannot be divorced from his economic position. What was possible in estate development terms depended on the funding which was available. Thus there was an inextricable link between paternalism and estate management, for what funded the one funded the other and needs to be added to Roberts's analysis. New factors can be added to the list made by Spring, Thompson and Cannadine, for at Goodwood inherited lands, the sale of foreign estates and the development of the Racecourse helped retrenchment in the early Victorian period.

There was an increase in management activity and development of the agent's role. Decisions of broad policy belonged to the landowner, particularly where issues had political connections or overtones. The Duke knew how he wanted the estate to respond to Repeal, to Commutation and when agriculture was, as he saw it, under threat. Yet there were other decisions which affected the estate significantly, which were taken by the agents themselves. Balmer's insistence on paper communication was an important one in formalising relationships both within the estate and outside it. It defined systems more clearly, and perhaps prevented some action being taken or requested because criteria were more firmly defined. The question is how significant is the sum total of a series of decisions taken at what we would define as middle management level. The cumulative effect of such decisions were important in determining how the estate actually ran, and the professional debate which took place in the Balmer/Arras correspondence provides a rare insight into the rationale behind agents' decisions.

Stress on efficient management was linked to a consideration of agriculture as a cost-effective exercise. The study shows that although the situation improved after 1853, the Golden Age was less than golden at Goodwood, confirming Jones's suspicions,

for the estate papers do not show a picture of large surpluses over long periods. Financial considerations defined improvements which could be undertaken, salaries and the wages which could be paid. The fifth Duke of Richmond saw such payments in a paternalistic light - wages were less important than moral ties - and this was borne out by practice at Goodwood. When he made speeches, he was clearly concerned with the moral condition of labourers rather than improving their physical wellbeing. When the workers were dissatisfied with the wage levels at Goodwood, it is clear that there was no mechanism to deal with this except on an individual basis.

There was certainly greater attention to profit and loss after 1850, but Goodwood had not moved to becoming exclusively a capitalist enterprise as Mills has suggested took place elsewhere. Still the needs of the estate came first. Estate life at Goodwood was of paramount importance, and most sources from which income was drawn were performing functions for the estate, so that sales were a secondary stage. The rusticity of Sussex might be thought of as atypical but other areas confirm the same approach - Gloucester, the East Riding and the many coastal and rural areas which still existed - for example. In fact although half of the population lived in towns, this accounted for much less than 50% of the area of the country.

Although overtly the social structure remained the same, change was under way, as is indicated by the way in which the imagery of the agricultural interest was expressed.

The family image was satisfactory because it reflected precisely those sentiments which the paternalist wanted his dependents to feel. Closeness, concern, mutual dependence and responsibility were all encompassed within it, yet it left possible leadership and superintendence by Richmond and deference on the part of farmer and labourer. It was important that the image entered the world of feeling which

involved the whole person and dealt with loyalties; it encouraged a man to be tied in an emotional way which was not possible with the new purely economic approaches. It also permitted the paternalist to link improvement with paternalism, and to make moral improvement a major aim. Paternalism did not dwell solely in the physical sphere: it encompassed mind as well as hand, and feeling as well as action.

TABLE 1. ELEVEN LARGEST SUSSEX OWNERS (BY AREA) .

a) SOURCE: NEW DOMESDAY SURVEY, 1873.

SEAT	TITLE	ACRES	GROSS EST. RENTAL
1.Petworth	Lord Leconfield	30,222	29,688
2.Arundel	Duke of Norfolk	19,218	29,760
3.Goodwood	Duke of Richmond	17,117	19,283
4.Stanmer	Earl of Chichester	16,233	13,650
5.Tunbridge Wells	Marquis of Abergavenny	15,365	12,753
6.Wiston	Rev. John Goring	14,140	13,705
7.Ashburnham	Earl of Ashburnham	14,051	13,069
8.Midhurst	Earl of Egmont	14,021	11,022
9.Firle Place	Viscount Gage	13,739	12,944
10.Knole Place (Yorks)	Earl de la Warr	11,186	10,828
11.Holker Hall (Lancs)	Dk of Devonshire	11063	14,882

b) SOURCE: J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDN, 1883.

SEAT	TITLE	ACRES	GROSS EST. RENTAL
1.Petworth	Lord Leconfield	30,221	29,688
2.Arundel	Duke of Norfolk	21,446	27,557
3.Buckhurst Park	Earl de la Warr	17,185	10,827
4.Goodwood	Duke of Richmond	17,117	19,283
5.Stanmer	Earl of Chichester	16,232	13,650
6.Tunbridge Wells	Marquis of Abergavenny	15,365	12,753
7.Wiston	Rev. John Goring	14,139	13,705
8.Ashburnham	Earl of Ashburnham	14,051	13,069
9.Nork House, Epsom	Earl of Egmont	14,021	12,000
10.Firle Place	Viscount Gage	12,352	13,337
11.Chatsworth	Dk of Devonshire	11,062	14,881

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF SQUIRES, GREAT LANDOWNERS AND PEERS IN HAMPSHIRE, KENT, SURREY AND SUSSEX.

SOURCE: J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDN, 1883.

	Hampshire		Kent	
Peers	13	122,091	18	122,571
Gt Landowners	55	279,286	36	193,741
Squires	78	132,600	75	127,500
	Surrey		Sussex	
Peers	12	47,946	19	195,016
Gt Landowners	11	60,290	40	185,374
Squires	41	69,700	86	146,200

TABLE 3. ESTATES OF THE DUKES OF RICHMOND AND NORFOLK, THE LECONFIELD FAMILY AND THE EARL OF EGMONT.

SOURCE: J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDN, 1883.

Duke of Richmond

	Acres	G.an.value
Banff	159,952	23,841
Aberdeen	69,660	24,747
Inverness	27,409	1,182
Elgin	12,271	10,618
Sussex	17,117	19,283
Yorks. N.R.	2	12
	<hr/> 286,411	<hr/> 79,683

Duke of Norfolk

Yorks. W.R.	19,440	39,897
Sussex	21,446	27,557
Norfolk	4,460	5,095
Surrey	3,172	2,247
Derby	1,274	493
Suffolk	47	194
Stafford	25	74
Notts.	2	39
	<hr/> 49,866	<hr/> 75,596

	Acres	G.an.value
Lord Leconfield		
Sussex	30,221	29,688
York	24,733	31,019
Cumberland	11,147	6,742
Co. Clare	37,292	15,699
Limerick	6,269	4,820
Tipperary	273	144
	<hr/> 109,935	<hr/> 88,112

Earl of Egmout

Sussex	14,021	12,000
Surrey	3,466	5,088
Bucks	585	1,226
Lincoln	134	386
Co. Cork	16,755	16,810
	<hr/> 34,972	<hr/> 35,510

TABLE 4. COUNTIES IN ORDER OF DENSITY OF COUNTRY SEATS

NUMBER OF ACRES (IN THOUSANDS) PER SEAT.

SOURCE : F.M.L. THOMPSON, ENGLISH LANDED SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY, 1963, p.30.

1. Rutland	31
2. Stafford	64
3. Hertford	65
4. Huntingdon	72
5. Kent	73
6. Northampton	75
7. Cheshire	76
8. Dorset	84
9. Durham	94
10. Lancashire	101
11. Nottingham	101
12. Wiltshire	103
13. Leicester	104
14. Derby	105
15. Gloucester	106
16. Berkshire	108
17. Warwick	109
18. Surrey	109
19. Worcester	111
20. Suffolk	115
21. Hereford	129
22. Bedford	143
23. Middlesex	145
24.*Sussex	* 149*
25. Oxford	150
26. Norfolk	156
27. Hampshire	160
28. Cambridge	175
29. Devon	177
30. Essex	191
31. Shropshire	202
32. Northumberland	203
33. Buckingham	229
34. Somerset	243
35. Yorkshire	258
36. Cornwall	276
37. Cumberland	281
38. Lincoln	403
39. Westmorland	449

NOTE: THOMPSON TREATS YORKSHIRE AS AN ENTITY, AND OMITTS MONMOUTH.

TABLE 5. THE GREAT ESTATES

Counties in order of the proportion of total area (excluding waste) occupied by estates which in aggregate exceed 10,000 acres.

SOURCE: THOMPSON, ENGLISH LANDED SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY, 1963, p.32.

	COUNTY	% of total area
1.	Rutland	53
2.	Northumberland	50
3.	Nottinghamshire	38
4.	Dorset	36
	Wiltshire	36
6.	Cheshire	35
7.	Derbyshire	31
	Staffordshire	31
9.	Northamptonshire	30
10.	Yorkshire	28
	Durham	28
	Lincolnshire	28
13.	Westmorland	27
	Cornwall	27
15.	Bedford	24
	Lancashire	24
	Warwickshire	24
18.	Hertfordshire	23
	*Sussex	*23
20.	Suffolk	22
21.	Hampshire	21
	Shropshire	21
23.	Devon	20
	Somerset	20
25.	Buckinghamshire	19
26.	Cumberland	19
	Leicestershire	19
	Norfolk	19
29.	Berkshire	17
	Huntingdonshire	17
31.	Gloucester	16
	Worcestershire	16
33.	Oxford	15
34.	Kent	12
35.	Cambridgeshire	11
	Hereford	11
37.	Surrey	10
38.	Essex	9
39.	Middlesex	4

NOTE: THOMPSON TREATS YORKSHIRE AS AN ENTITY, AND OMITTS MONMOUTH.

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF PEERS WITH THEIR PRINCIPAL ESTATES IN ENGLISH COUNTIES.

SOURCE : J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDITION, 1883.

	COUNTY	NO. OF PEERS
1.	* Sussex	* 19
	West Riding	19
3.	Kent	18
4.	Devon	17
5.	Wiltshire	16
6.	Norfolk	15
7.	Cheshire	13
	Hampshire	13
	Northamptonshire	13
10.	Lincolnshire	12
	Surrey	12
12.	North Riding	11
13.	Dorset	10
	Hertfordshire	10
	Lancashire	10
	Somerset	10
	Staffordshire	10
	Suffolk	10
19.	Northumberland	9
	Nottinghamshire	9
	Oxford	9
	Warwickshire	9
23.	Shropshire	8
24.	Gloucester	7
	Leicestershire	7
	Worcestershire	7
27.	Berkshire	6
	Cornwall	6
	Derbyshire	6
	East Riding	6
	Huntingdonshire	6
32.	Buckinghamshire	5
	Durham	5
	Essex	5
	Middlesex	5
	Monmouth	5
37.	Cumberland	4
	Hereford	4
39.	Bedford	3
40.	Westmorland	2
41.	Rutland	1
	Cambridgeshire	1

TABLE 7. SIZE OF ENGLISH COUNTIES

EXTRACTED FROM J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDITION, 1883.
NUMBERS OF PEERS GIVEN IN BRACKETS.

COUNTY	ACRES
1. West Riding	1,632,258 (19)
2. Lincoln	1,612,305 (12)
3. Devon	1,594,852 (17)
4. North Riding	1,278,884 (11)
5. Norfolk	1,247,753 (15)
6. Northumberland	1,220,329 (9)
7. Lancashire	1,011,769 (10)
8. Somerset	971,729 (10)
9. Hampshire	963,492 (13)
10. Essex	957,330 (5)
11. Kent	955,909 (18)
12. Suffolk	920,268 (10)
13.*Sussex	* 893,161 (19)*
14. Cumberland	844,836 (4)
15. Wiltshire	830,879 (16)
16. Cornwall	829,929 (6)
17. Shropshire	811,615 (8)
18. Gloucester	741,070 (7)
19. East Riding	710,733 (6)
20. Stafford	645,891 (10)
21. Derby	632,611 (6)
22. Chester	608,025 (13)
23. Northampton	593,026 (13)
24. Dorset	587,140 (10)
25. Durham	567,908 (5)
26. Warwick	524,855 (9)
27. Cambridge	524,481 (1)
28. Leicester	519,524 (7)
29. Hereford	516,633 (4)
30. Nottingham	508,786 (9)
31. Buckingham	459,151 (5)
32. Oxford	452,232 (9)
33. Westmorland	449,432 (2)
34. Worcester	444,476 (7)
35. Surrey	438,783 (12)
36. Berkshire	433,863 (6)
37. Hertford	390,110 (10)
38. Monmouth	296,791 (5)
39. Bedford	287,203 (3)
40. Huntingdon	225,958 (6)
41. Middlesex	145,605 (5)
42. Rutland	93,489 (1)

TABLE 8
 SUSSEX LANDOWNERS WITH HOLDINGS OF OVER 3,000 ACRES.
 COMPILED FROM J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDITION, 1883.

NAME	SUSSEX LAND	TOTAL HOLDING
Marquis of Abergavenny,	15,364	28,534
Lt.Col. John Aldridge	5,739	5,739
Earl of Ashburnham	14,051	24,489
Sir Walter Barttelot	3,633	3,633
Wilfrid Blunt	4,116	4,811
Frederick Bower	8,500	8,500
Sir Henry Brand	8,846	8,846
Sir Thomas Brassey	3,544	3,617
Harry Bridger	3,753	3,753
The Misses Brisco	4,390	6,200
Sir Walter Wyndham Burrell	9,294	9,294
Marquis of Camden	3,755	17,399
Henry Campion	3,468	6,832
Earl of Chichester	16,232	16,232
William Christie	5,043	11,614
Duke of Cleveland	6,025	104,194
George Courthorpe	3,026	3,656
Earl de la Warr	17,185	23,366
John Dodson	2,916	2,916
Sir James Duke	4,275	4,275
Earl of Egmont	14,021	34,972
Charles Eversfield	3,124	3,124
Miss Fetherstonhaugh	5,983	5,983
Edward Frewen	3,590	7,892
Viscount Gage	12,352	12,352
George Carew Gibson	3,772	4,568
Carew Gilbert	3,526	6,421
Rev. John Goring	14,139	14,139
Sir Charles Goring	3,956	4,422
Sir John Hawkshaw	3,989	4,166
Lord Leconfield	30,221	109,935
Charles Leslie	4,350	18,990
Duke of Norfolk	21,446	49,866
Thos. Papillon	3,680	4,975
Duke of Richmond	17,117	286,411
Rev. Scutt	3,914	3,914
Earl of Sheffield	4,537	6,468
Lady Shelley	3,865	5,052
Rev. Shiffner	3,993	4,357
Percy Tew	3,967	3,967
Reginald Wilberforce	3,554	3,636
George Wilder	3,679	3,683
Earl of Winterton	3,822	5,760
Lord Zouche	6,654	6,893

TABLE 9. TABLE TO SHOW THE SINGLE LARGEST GROUP OF LANDOWNERS IN ENGLISH COUNTIES

COMPILED FROM J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDITION, 1883.

1. COUNTIES IN WHICH PEERS HELD MOST LAND

Cheshire, Derbyshire, Durham, Hertfordshire, Northampton, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Staffordshire, Sussex, Wiltshire.

TOTAL = 10

2. COUNTIES IN WHICH GREAT LANDOWNERS HELD MOST LAND.

Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire, Kent, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Monmouth, Norfolk, Northumberland, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Somerset, Hampshire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Westmorland, Worcestershire, North Riding, East Riding, West Riding.

TOTAL = 27

3. COUNTIES IN WHICH GREATER YEOMEN HELD MOST LAND

Cambridgeshire, Surrey.

TOTAL = 2

4. COUNTIES IN WHICH LESSER YEOMEN HELD MOST LAND

Cumberland

TOTAL = 1

5. COUNTIES IN WHICH SMALL PROPRIETORS HELD MOST LAND

Middlesex

TOTAL = 1

TABLE 10. SUSSEX LANDOWNERSHIP

SOURCE: J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDN, 1883, p.510.

NO. OF OWNERS	CLASS	ACRES
19	PEERS	195,016
40	GREAT LANDOWNERS	185,374
86	SQUIRES	146,200
280	GREATER YEOMEN	140,000
537	LESSER YEOMEN	91,290
3,915	SMALL PROPRIETORS	62,024
14,675	COTTAGERS	3,950
182	PUBLIC BODIES	30,592
	WASTE	23,378
19,734	TOTAL	893,161

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE OF COUNTIES OWNED BY PEERS AND GREAT LANDOWNERS.

Source: Calculated from figures in J. Bateman, The Great Landowners, 4th edition, 1883.

	COUNTY	%
1.	Rutland	71
2.	Northumberland	65
3.	Cheshire	57
4.	Wiltshire	56
5.	Nottinghamshire	55
6.	Dorset	54
7.	Shropshire	52
8.	East Riding	50
9.	Derbyshire	48
	Staffordshire	48
10.	Northamptonshire	47
11.	Buckinghamshire	45
12.	Huntingdonshire	44
13.	*Sussex	*43
14.	West Riding	42
	Lincolnshire	42
	Monmouth	42
	Hampshire	42
	Warwickshire	42
19.	Norfolk	41
20.	Hertfordshire	40
	Suffolk	40
	Cornwall	40
23.	North Riding	39
	Berkshire	39
26.	Durham	38
	Leicestershire	38
28.	Oxford	37
	Worcestershire	37
	Devon	37
	Gloucester	37
32.	Hereford	36
33.	Somerset	35
	Lancashire	35
	Bedford	35
36.	Kent	33
37.	Essex	28
	Westmorland	28
39.	Cumberland	26
40.	Surrey	25
41.	Cambridgeshire	24
42.	Middlesex	16

TABLE 12. SUSSEX LANDOWNERS OF OVER 2,000 ACRES

CALCULATED FROM FIGURES IN J. BATEMAN, THE GREAT LANDOWNERS, 4TH EDITION, 1883.

Sir Thomas Brassey	Lord St Leonards
Harry Bridger	Frederick Schroeter
Henry Fowler Broadwood	Rev. Scutt
Sir Walter Wyndham Burrell	Earl of Sheffield
Marquis of Camden	Edward Shelley
Wm. Henry Campion	Rev. Shiffner
Lord Castletown	Mrs Shiffner
Duke of Cleveland	Vere Fane-Bennett-Stanford
George Courthorpe	Earl Of Strathmore and Kinghorne
H.P. Crofts	Percy Tew
George Cubbit	Thos. Freeman
Edward Curteis	Edward Trafford
Earl de la Warr	Countess Of Waldegrave
Duke of Devonshire	Reginald Wilberforce
John Dobson	George Wilder
Sir James Duke	Sir Spencer Maryon-Wilson
Sir William Dyke	Earl Of Winterton
Earl of Egmont	Lord Zouche
Charles Eversfield	
Miss Fetherstonhaugh	
Edward Frewen	
Viscount Gage	
George Carew Gibson	
Carew Davis Gilbert	
Joseph Godman	
James Haig	
Mrs Hankey	
Sir John Hawkshaw	
Viscount Holmesdale	
Robert Hurst	
Edward Hussey	
Peter King	
H.C.Lane	
Lord Leconfield	
Rev. Augustus Legge	
Charles Leslie	
Robert Loder	
Major William Lyon	
Major General Marshall	
Henry Micklethwaite	
W.T. Mitford	
Alexander Nesbitt	
Duke of Norfolk	
Mrs Padwick	
Thos. Papillon	
Edward Pennefather	
Sir George Prescott	
Duke of Richmond	
Lord Rodney	
Lord Sackville	

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF LAND IN ENGLISH COUNTIES OWNED BY DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF LANDOWNERS

SOURCE: Calculated from figures in J. Bateman, The Great Landowners, 4th Edition, 1883.

Key to table

COLUMN	TYPE OF OWNER	COLUMN	TYPE OF OWNER
1.	Peers	5.	Lesser Yeomen
2.	Great Landowners	6.	Small Proprietors
3.	Squires	7.	Cottagers
4.	Greater Yeomen	8.	Public Bodies
		9.	Waste

	% OF COUNTY OWNED BY EACH TYPE OF OWNER								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bedford	18.7	20.9	16.0	12.9	11.5	13.5	0.3	5.7	0.4
Berkshire	11.3	27.6	15.7	17.6	9.6	9.8	0.2	7.8	0.5
Buckingham	19.2	25.7	10.7	14.4	13.2	10.7	0.3	5.2	0.6
Cambridge	11.0	13.4	10.9	18.9	16.4	16.5	0.2	12.1	0.5
Chester	26.4	25.9	10.9	10.0	8.6	12.8	0.8	3.6	1.1
Cornwall	10.3	29.7	9.8	13.5	14.3	12.7	0.1	1.0	8.8
Cumberland	11.5	14.3	10.3	14.3	18.9	14.3	0.2	2.7	13.5
Derby	28.8	29.0	10.2	11.4	10.3	10.5	5.0	0.3	1.8
Devon	13.6	22.9	11.5	15.6	16.6	12.8	0.2	2.0	4.8
Dorset	20.9	32.8	17.1	11.2	6.6	6.7	0.3	2.1	2.3
Durham	22.8	14.7	9.9	12.4	10.5	10.3	0.8	10.1	8.3
Essex	7.1	21.1	15.4	20.2	16.9	10.0	0.4	7.9	0.7
Gloucester	14.9	22.3	12.6	16.9	13.7	13.1	0.8	4.6	1.0
Hampshire	12.7	28.9	13.8	14.6	8.0	8.4	0.6	4.9	8.1
Hereford	5.1	30.8	16.1	17.1	14.7	9.8	0.3	4.1	1.9
Hertford	21.3	19.1	17.0	17.7	10.3	8.8	0.6	3.9	1.4
Huntingdon	16.9	27.3	6.0	14.1	13.5	12.1	0.2	9.4	0.4
Kent	12.8	20.2	13.3	18.6	14.0	12.5	0.9	7.1	0.6
Lancashire	13.4	21.6	13.3	12.7	11.6	16.6	1.5	3.0	6.4
Leicester	18.8	19.1	12.4	15.8	15.9	13.8	0.3	3.6	0.1
Lincoln	15.7	25.9	9.6	15.4	12.7	13.8	0.2	6.2	0.4
Middlesex	9.5	6.6	5.8	14.1	19.6	23.5	4.5	14.5	1.8
Monmouth	20.7	21.0	18.0	11.9	14.6	15.8	0.4	4.8	2.6
Norfolk	15.6	25.8	15.4	13.6	11.2	12.2	0.2	4.8	1.0
Northampton	25.0	22.3	8.9	13.2	12.7	11.3	0.5	6.1	0.4
Northumberland	26.4	38.6	14.1	7.4	4.0	3.5	0.1	3.2	2.5
Nottingham	30.8	24.2	8.4	10.7	9.4	12.0	0.2	3.9	0.3
Oxford	18.2	18.8	15.0	14.0	12.9	10.1	0.2	10.4	10.7
Rutland	45.5	25.5	8.0	4.9	5.8	7.3	0.1	2.6	0.4
Shropshire	24.0	27.5	13.6	13.8	9.4	7.1	0.6	1.7	2.4
Somerset	12.4	22.4	11.7	13.9	15.4	17.9	0.5	2.5	3.2
Stafford	25.4	22.9	8.9	10.6	10.1	16.3	0.7	3.8	1.2
Suffolk	14.3	25.3	12.0	16.1	14.7	11.1	0.4	5.0	0.9
Surrey	10.9	13.7	15.9	19.8	12.3	11.3	0.7	6.2	9.1
Sussex	21.8	20.7	16.4	15.7	10.2	9.2	0.4	2.9	2.7
Warwick	20.4	21.9	10.0	13.1	15.9	11.4	1.1	5.6	0.3
Westmorland	12.0	16.4	7.6	12.1	13.3	11.8	0.1	1.1	25.4
Wiltshire	28.8	27.1	12.5	12.6	6.9	6.6	0.2	5.0	0.2
Worcester	17.4	19.7	9.6	14.6	18.1	14.7	0.1	4.0	0.8
East Riding	18.9	31.1	10.5	12.9	11.6	8.6	0.8	5.0	0.6
North Riding	15.7	23.6	10.6	9.0	8.2	10.4	0.2	2.9	9.3
West Riding	14.4	27.1	10.5	11.2	11.6	14.0	0.8	4.2	6.1

TABLE 14. INCOME OF THE GOODWOOD ESTATE, 1852-1856

SOURCE:- Goodwood ms. E5409, Abstract Rentals 1852-56

	£	£	£	£
Rents/Property sold	16,814	16,986	14,534	22,450
Forest	3,262	4,406	4,383	4,763
Brick Kiln	40	193	598	415
Racecourse	1,917	1,916	1,874	1,887
Home Farm	1,596	1,362	1,341	1,887
	<u>23,629</u>	<u>24,863</u>	<u>25,201</u>	<u>34,015</u>

TABLE 15. RENTS AS % OF TOTAL INCOME OF THE GOODWOOD ESTATE, 1852/72.

SOURCE: Goodwood mss. E5255-69, E5409-15.

YEAR	RENT TOTAL £	TOTAL INCOME £	% £
1852	16,814	23,632	71.14
1853	16,986	24,866	68.31
1854	14,534	22,710	63.99
1855	22,450	34,015	66.00
1856			
1857			
1858			
1859			
1860	16,911	26,078	64.85
1861	18,200	31,298	58.15
1862	18,030	26,932	66.94
1863	18,206	27,137	67.09
1864	18,364	27,141	67.66
1865	25,619	36,445	70.29
1866	18,849	29,465	63.97
1867	19,123	30,037	63.66
1868	19,258	30,258	63.64
1869	19,268	28,953	66.55
1870	19,030	29,590	64.31
1871	19,926	31,599	63.06
1872	20,094	32,926	61.02

TABLE 16

FARMS AT GOODWOOD, SHOWING FATE OF FARMS WHERE FARMER HAD QUIT 1850-1858.

Source: Goodwood ms. E5154, E5155, E5156, Valuations and Measurements of farms, 1851-1869

FARMS

Barnham			
Barnham			
Birdham	EDMUND WOODLAND	1853	Amalgamated with Old House and run by new tenant as one unit.
Boxgrove			
Charlton			
Droke			
East Lavant	CHARLES DUKE	1853	New tenant found.
East Lavant			
East Wittering			
Felpham	THOMAS COSENS	1850	New tenant found.
Fishbourne	CHARLES DUKE	1856	Farm sold.
Groves			
Langford			
Old House	WILLIAM GIBBS	1853	See Birdham Farm.
Old Place	MESSRS HENTY	1853	Existing Goodwood tenant took on this as an additional farm.
Oldwick			
Raughmere			
Seabeach	EMILY HUSKISSON	1850	Existing Goodwood tenant took on this as an additional farm.
Selhurst Park	THOMAS COSENS	1856	Farm taken in hand?
Singleton			
Stein	EDMUND FOGDEN	1853	New tenant found.
St Marys	CHARLES STAMP	1853	Farm divided between other units.
Stoke			
Strettington			
Strettington Little	THOMAS MILLS	1856	Farm divided between other units.
Tangmere			
Warehead			
Late Whites			
Westerton			
Westhampnett			
West Lavant			
Woodcote			

TABLE 17. ANNUAL AVERAGE GAZETTE PRICE OF BRITISH WHEAT PER QTR.

1815	65/7d	1835	39/4d	1855	74/8d
1816	78/6d	1836	48/6d	1856	69/2d
1817	96/11d	1837	55/10d	1857	56/4d
1818	86/3d	1838	64/7d	1858	44/2d
1819	74/6d	1839	70/8d	1859	43/9d
1820	67/10d	1840	66/4d	1860	53/3d
1821	56/1d	1841	64/4d	1861	55/4d
1822	44/7d	1842	57/3d	1862	55/5d
1823	53/4d	1843	50/1d	1863	44/9d
1824	63/11d	1844	51/3d	1864	40/2d
1825	68/6d	1845	50/10d	1865	41/10d
1826	58/8d	1846	54/8d	1866	49/11d
1827	58/6d	1847	69/9d	1867	64/5d
1828	60/5d	1848	50/6d	1868	63/9d
1829	66/3d	1849	44/3d	1869	48/2d
1830	64/3d	1850	40/3d	1870	46/11d
1831	66/4d	1851	38/6d		
1832	58/8d	1852	40/9d		
1833	52/11d	1853	53/3d		
1834	46/2d	1854	72/5d		

TABLE 18. RELATIVE PRICE MOVEMENTS: ARABLE AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS, 1851-1880
(1865-74=100)

SOURCE: E.L. Jones, The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873, 1968, p.21

	1851- 1855	1856- 1860	1861- 1865	1866- 1870	1871- 1875	1876- 1880	1871-80;cf 1851-60
WHEAT	103	98	87	100	100	87	-7%
BARLEY	82	98	86	101	103	95	+10%
OATS	90	87	87	101	104	96	+7%

BEEF	77	85	87	94	110	103	+31%
MUTTON	80	88	93	93	108	105	+27%
CHEESE	75	86	84	102	97	85	+13%
MILK	65	84	82	89	91	111	+36%

TABLE 19. AVERAGE WHEAT PRICES FOR SEVEN YEARS, 1859-1870

SOURCE : CALCULATED FROM TABLE 17

	Average price for previous 7yrs	Annual Price
1853-1859	59/1	53/3
1854-1860	59/1	55/4
1855-1861	56/8	55/5
1856-1862	53/11	44/9
1857-1863	50/5	40/2
1858-1864	48/1	41/10
1859-1865	47/9	49/11
1860-1866	48/8	53/3
1861-1867	50/3	64/5
1862-1868	51/5	63/9
1863-1869	50/5	48/2
1864-1870	50/9	46/11

TABLE 20. INCOME OF THE GOODWOOD ESTATE - FORESTRY, 1852-1856 AND 1860-1867

SOURCE : Goodwood ms E5409-15 Abstract Rentals 1852-1857
E5455/6 Timber Sales Ledgers 1855-1912

Year	£
1852-1853	3,262
1853-1854	4,406
1854-1855	4,383
1855-1856	4,763
1860	2,124
1861	1,959
1862	2,849
1863	2,853
1864	2,616
1865	3,651
1866	2,974
1867	4,232

TABLE 21

WAGE TOTALS PAID TO LABOURERS ON THE GOODWOOD ESTATE, JULY-OCTOBER, 1850

SOURCE: Compiled from Goodwood ms. E5303, Estate Daybook, July-December, 1850.

	July	Aug	Sept	Oct
	£	£	£	£
Garden	35	35	70	35
Bricklayers	20	20	110	0
Farriers	35	10	15	15
Game	5	5	25	0
Racecourse	35	10	5	5
Stables	10	10	10	15
Carpenters	55	60	160	105
Home Farm	320	390	240	120
Forest	0	10	150	60
Domain	0	15	20	20

TABLE 22

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF GOODWOOD RACECOURSE, 1843-1849

SOURCE:GOODWOOD MS E5197, Racecourse Accounts Book, 1843-1849

INCOME	EXPENDITURE	PROFIT
1843 2045	1469	576
1844 1809	1336	573
1845 1914	1429	493
1846 2000	1307	693
1847 2191	1441	750
1848 2178	1166	1,012
1849 2414	1285	1,129

TABLE 23.

MEDALS WON BY GOODWOOD ESTATE AT THE SMITHFIELD SHOW, 1829-1868.

SOURCE: Goodwood ms. 1270

DATE	CATEGORY	PRIZES	AMOUNT	MEDALS
1829-1838	SHEEP	9	£60	2 GOLD, 3 SILVER
"	CATTLE	1	£10	
1839-48	SHEEP	11	£130	1 GOLD, 5 SILVER
1849-58	SHEEP	25	£365	6 GOLD, 27 SILVER
"	CATTLE	1	£5	
1859-68	SHEEP	17	£200	1 GOLD, 10 SILVER.

TABLE 24.

GOODWOOD FARMS: SIZE IN 1851.

SOURCE: Calculated from Goodwood ms, E5154, Valuations and Measurements of Farms, 1851.

FARM	1851 ACRES	
Barnham	68	
Barnham	58	
Birdham	59	(with Old House)
Boxgrove	371	
Broil	?	
Charlton	470	
Crockerhill	?	
Decoy	91	
Droke	802	
East Dean	1152	
East Lavant	662	
East Lavant	953	
East Wittering	239	
Felpham	243	
Fishbourne	99	(sold 1856)
Groves	195	(with Drayton- bought early 1850s)
Langford	929	
Old House	142	
Old Place	187	
Oldwick	220	
Raughmere	291	.
Selhurst Park	916	
Singleton	841	
Stein	951	
St Marys	142	(split 1853)
Stoke	607	.
Strettington	168	
Strettington Little	43	(split 1853)
Tangmere	285	
Warehead	153	(with most of Seabeach and Late Whites)
Seabeach	232	(split 1859)
Late Whites	255	
Westerton	260	
Westhampnett	202	
West Lavant	472	
Woodcote	327	
TOTAL ACREAGE	13,535	
AVERAGE SIZE	398	

TABLE 25.

PERCENTAGE OF ARABLE, PASTURE AND DOWN ON GOODWOOD FARMS, 1851.

SOURCE: Calculated from E5154, Valuations and Measurements of Farms, 1851.

FARM	ARABLE	PASTURE	DOWN
Barnham	85	12	0
Barnham	88	10	0
Birdham	97	2	0
Boxgrove	76	4	19
Charlton	60	3	36
Droke	2	9	70
East Lavant	41	21	37
East Lavant	?	0	?
East Wittering	95	3	0
Felpham	?	?	0
Fishbourne	49	48	0
Groves	93	5	0
Langford	55	16	28
Old House	86	7	0
Old Place	83	16	0
Oldwick	83	16	0
Raughmere	79	?	0
Seabeach	51	0	48
Selhurst Park	44	4	42
Singleton	44	3	53
Stein	28	2	69
St Marys	92	8	0
Stoke	31	19	48
Strettington	83	15	0
Strettington Little	93	5	0
Tangmere	80	?	0
Warehead	49	9?	40?
Late Whites	?	?	?
Westerton	93	6	0
Westhampnett	90	7	0
West Lavant	70	8	19
Woodcote	91	7	0

TABLE 26.

LOCATION OF GOODWOOD ESTATE FARMS

SOURCE: 1851 Census Returns

CP= COASTAL PLAIN, LS= LOWER (SOUTHERN DOWNLAND SLOPES, D= DOWNLAND FARMS. FARMS WITH THE TEN HIGHEST RENTS ARE MARKED THUS *; THOSE WITH THE TEN LOWEST ARE MARKED THUS @

FARMS	LOCATION
Barnham	cp*
Barnham	cp*
Birdham	cp*
Boxgrove	ls@
Charlton	d@
Droke	d@
East Lavant	d@
East Lavant	d@
East Wittering	cp@
Felpham	cp*
Fishbourne	cp*
Groves	cp
Langford	d
Old House	cp
Old Place	cp*
Oldwick	d
Raughmere	d
Seabeach	d
Selhurst Park	d@
Singleton	d@
Stein	d@
St Marys	ls
Stoke	d@
Strettington	ls
Strettington Little	ls@
Tangmere	cp*
Warehead	ls
Late Whites	ls
Westerton	ls*
Westhamnett	cp*
West Lavant	d*
Woodcote	cp*

TABLE 27

SIZE OF GOODWOOD FARMS, 1851.

Calculated from Goodwood ms E5154, valuations and measurements of farms, 1851

FARMS

SMALL (1-150 ACRES)

Strettington Little	43
Adsdean	
Barnham	58
Birdham	59
Barnham	68
Fishbourne	99
Funtington	
Old House	142
St Marys	142
Crockerhill	

MEDIUM (151-300 acres)

Warehead	153
Strettington	168
Old Place	187
Groves	195
Westhampnett	202
Oldwick	220
Seabeach	232
East Wittering	239
Felpham	243
Late Whites	255
Westerton	260
Tangmere	285
Raughmere	291

LARGE (301 acres +)

Woodcote	327
Boxgrove	372
Charlton	470
West Lavant	462
Stoke	607
East Lavant	662
Droke	802
Singleton	841
Selhurst Park	916
Langford	929
Stein	951
East Lavant	953

TABLE 28.

GOODWOOD FARMS: SIZE IN 1851 COMPARED TO THAT IN LATE SIXTIES.

SOURCE: Calculated from Goodwood ms. E5154, E5155 and E5156, Valuations and Measurements of Farms, 1851-1869.

FARM	1851 ACRES	1869 ACRES
Barnham	68	64
Barnham	58	106
Birdham	59	200 (with Old House)
Boxgrove	371	346
Broil	?	178
Charlton	470	?
Crockerhill	?	272
Decoy	91	91
Droke	802	497
East Dean	1152	618
East Lavant	662	698
East Lavant	953	855
East Wittering	239	239
Felpham	243	224
Fishbourne	99	- (sold 1856)
Groves	195	298 (with Drayton- bought early 1850s)
Langford	929	927
Old House	142	200
Old Place	187	177
Oldwick	220	219
Raughmere	291	264
Selhurst Park	916	?
Singleton	841	347
Stein	951	450
St Marys	142	- (split 1853)
Stoke	607	601
Strettington	168	195
Strettington Little	43	- (split 1853)
Tangmere	285	286
Warehead	153	587 (with most of Seabeach and Late Whites)
Seabeach	232	- (split 1859)
Late Whites	255	-
Westerton	260	236
Westhampnett	202	219
West Lavant	472	465
Woodcote	327	286
TOTAL ACREAGE	13535	9495
AVERAGE SIZE	398	339

TABLE 29. GOODWOOD ESTATE FARMS BY PARISHES

SOURCE: 1851 Census Returns

PARISH	FARM
BARNHAM	Barnham (1)
"	Barnham (2)
BIRDHAM	Birdham
"	Old House
BOXGROVE	Boxgrove
"	Warehead
"	Late Whites
"	St. Marys
(some land in Eartham)	Seabeach
EAST DEAN	Droke
"	Stein
EAST LAVANT	East Lavant (1)
"	East Lavant (2)
"	Oldwick
(some land in Mid Lavant)	Langford
" " " " "	Raughmere
" " " " "	West Lavant
(some land in Boxgrove)	Selhurst Park
EAST WITTERING	East Wittering
FELPHAM	Felpham
BOSHAM	Fishbourne
OVING	Groves
SINGLETON	Singleton
"	Charlton
WEST STOKE	Stoke
TANGMERE	Tangmere
WESTHAMPNETT	Westhampnett
"	Old Place
"	Woodcote
"	Westerton
"	Strettington Little
(some land in Boxgrove)	Strettington

TABLE 30

POPULATION PEAKS IN PARISHES IN CHICHESTER RAPE, 1801-1881.

SOURCE: VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY

* indicates a parish containing a Goodwood Farm

Parish	Population Peak		
ALDWICK HUNDRED			
South Bersted	*1881	EASEBOURNE	
East Lavant	*1851/61	Bepton	1881
Pagham	1841	Cocking	1881
Slindon	*1851	Easebourne	1841
Tangmere	*1841	Farnhurst	1881
		Grafham	1851
BOSHAM HUNDRED			
Bosham	*1871	Heyshott	1881
Chidham	1841	Iping	1871
Funtington	*1861	Linch	1881
West Stoke	*1831	Linchmere	1881
West Thorney	1871	Lodsworth	1851
		Midhurst	1881
		Selham	1861
BOX & STOCKBRIDGE HUNDRED			
Aldingbourne	1821	Stedham	1881
Appledram	1831	Steep (part)	1871
Boxgrove	*1821	Ambersham	1841
Donnington	1821	Woolbeding	1881
Eartham	*1881	MANHOOD	
New Fishbourne	1871	Birdham	*1821
Hunston	1851	Earnley	1831
Merston	*1831	Itchenor	1851
North Mundham	*1841	Selsey	1871
Oving	*1881	Sidlesham	1821
Rumboldswyke	*1881	E. Wittering	*1841
Up Waltham	1841	W.Wittering	1861
West Hampnett	*1851	WESTBOURNE & SINGLETON HUNDRED	
DUMPFORD HUNDRED			
Bramshott (part)	1881	Binderton	1861
Chithurst	1821	Compton	1851
Didling	1831	E. Dean	*1841
Elsted	1851	W. Dean	1881
Harting	1871	E. Marden	1821
Rogate	1821	N. Marden	1881
Terwick	1881	Mid Lavant	1881
Treyford	1841	Racton	1811
Trotton	1851	Singleton	*1871
		Stoughton	1881
		Up Marden	1861
		Westbourne	1871

TABLE 31

BIRTHPLACES OF GOODWOOD FARMERS IDENTIFIED AS EFFICIENT IN VALUATIONS 1865-1870

SOURCE: Extracted from Goodwood ms. E5155 and 5156 and Census Returns, 1871.

Efficient Farmers

George Bayley	Warehead Farm	Bordon, Hampshire
George Rusbridger	Westerton Farm	Westhampnett
Thomas Cogan	Westhampnett Farm	East Dean
John Rusbridger	East Wittering Farm	Westhampnett
George Randall	Felpham Farm	Felpham
Thomas Peachey	Old House Farm	?
Thomas Calhoun	Old Place Farm	Southampton
Charles Dorrien	Oldwick Farm	?
Alexander Fogden	Strettington Farm	Strettington
Charles Stride	East Dean Farm	Salisbury, Wilts

POOR OR INEFFICIENT

George Sowter	Boxgrove Farm	West Dean
James Norrell	Broyle Farm	East Dean
James Calhoun	Raughmere Farm	Southampton
Henry Freeland	Crockerhill Farm	Hampshire
John Sadler	West Lavant Farm	East Lavant

TABLE 32

SUMS SPENT ON BUILDINGS AND REPAIRS, 1840-1856

SOURCE: Compiled from Goodwood ms E5271, E5272 and E5409

1840/1	3122
1841/2	3891
1842/3	2646
1843/4	3213
1844/5	3498
1845/6	4052
1846/7	4128
1847/8	5224
1848/9	3387
1849/0	
1850/1	
1851/2	
1852/3	6936
1853/4	5377
1854/5	4343
1855/6	4252

TABLE 33

POPULATION GROWTH OF SELECTED SUSSEX TOWNS 1801-1871.

SOURCE - VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY, SUSSEX VOLUME, TABLES OF POPULATION

TOWN	ACRES	1801	1851	1861	1871
Arundel	1,969	1,855	2,748	2,498	2,956
Bognor	2,780	737	2,694	3,128	3,794
Chichester	1,888	4,752	8,647	8,884	8,205
Midhurst	669	1,073	1,481	1,340	1,465
Petworth	6,128	2,264	3,439	3,368	3,304
Shoreham	2,058	987	2,868	3,633	3,963
Littlehampton	1,102	584	2,436	2,350	3,272
Storrington	3,249	846	1,038	1,104	1,184
Steypning	3,414	1,174	1,464	1,620	1,165
Horsham	10,741	3,204	5,947	6,747	7,831
Worthing	2,240	1,018	5,970	6,466	8,641
Newhaven	964	584	1,358	1,886	2,549
Lewes	3,862	4,909	9,097	9,400	10,434
Hove	778	101	4,104	9,624	11,277
Eastbourne	4,755	1,668	3,433	5,795	10,361
Brighton	1,629	7,339	65,569	77,693	90,011
Hastings	4,241	3,175	17,747	23,455	31,496
Bexhill	8,015	1,091	2,148	2,084	2,158

TABLE 34. OLD AND NEW RENTS ON GOODWOOD TENANT FARMS.

SOURCE: 1851 RENT REVIEWS

FARMS	OLD RENT £	NEW RENT £	PER ACRE	CHANGE %
Barnham	138/10/0	135	38/3	-3
Barnham	120	110	37/-	-8
Birdham	100	85	27/6	-15
Boxgrove	367/17/4	335	21/6	-9
Charlton	250	260	16/6	+4
Droke	205	185	15/6	-10
East Lavant	480	460	20/9	-4
East Lavant	504	480	22/6	-5
East Wittering	415	360	29/3	-13
Felpham	FIGURES NOT EXTANT.			
Fishbourne	190	165	33/-	-13
Groves	307	270	27/-	-12
Langford	858/15/0	780	22/6	-9
Old House	200	170	22/9	-15
Old Place	280	285	30/6	+2
Oldwick	215/1/0	200	23/6	-7
Raughmere	315	295	24/-	-6
Seabeach	150/14/0	160	27/-	+6
Selhurst Park	250	275	12/6	+10
Singleton	380	340	17/-	-11
Stein	170	190	13/6	+12
St Marys	226	190	27/3	-16
Stoke	380/19/0	350	21/6	-8
Strettington	282/10/0	230	27/-	-18
Strettington Little	44	50	24/-	+14
Tangmere	475/5/0	400	27/6	-16
Warehead	175)			
Late Whites	132/2/10)	290	24/-	-6
Westerton	500	470	35/3	-6
Westthamnett	365	340	32/6	-7
West Lavant	632/16/0	560	29/3	-10
Woodcote	482/12/0	475	28/6	-2

TABLE 35

BIRTHPLACES OF WORKERS LIVING IN WESTHAMPNETT PARISH, 1851.

SOURCE: Calculated from 1851 Census Returns

BORN	LABOURERS		ARTISANS		HOUSE SERVANTS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Westhampnett or Boxgrove	25	42	25	51	14	19
Other parish containing a Goodwood Farm	16	27	5	10	11	15
Other parish in Chichester Rape	12	20	10	20	12	16
Elsewhere in Sussex	6	10	6	12	10	13
Elsewhere in England	1	1	1	2	3	5
Abroad	0	0	0	0	3	3

TABLE 36

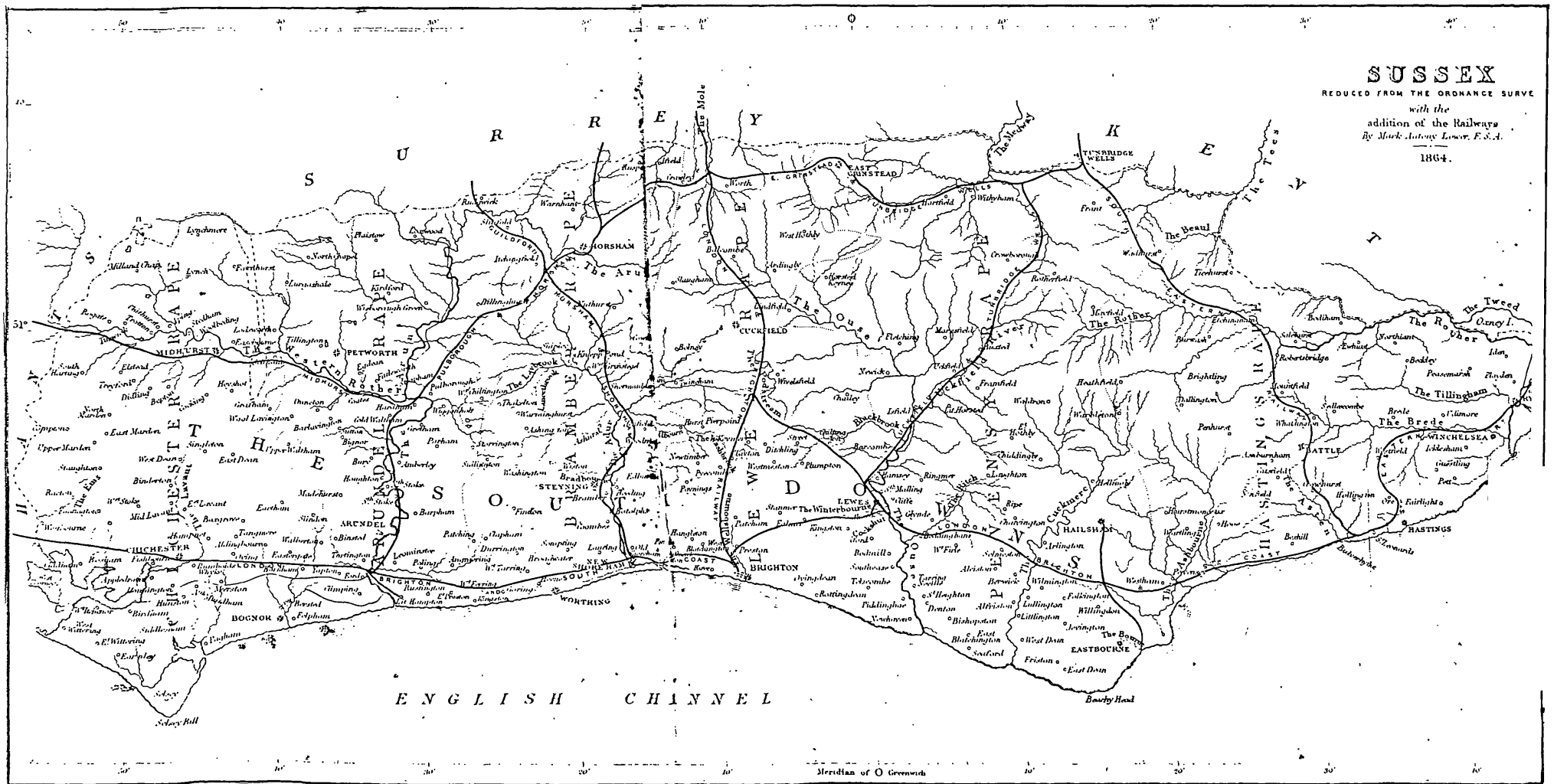
BIRTHPLACES OF HOUSE SERVANTS WORKING IN GOODWOOD HOUSE COMPARED WITH OTHER HOUSE SERVANTS IN WESTHAMPNETT PARISH, 1851.

SOURCE: 1851 CENSUS RETURNS

BORN	GOODWOOD SERVANTS		OTHER SERVANTS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
Westhampnett or Boxgrove	4	7	10	42
Other parish containing a Goodwood Farm	8	14	3	13
Other parish in Chichester Rape	7	12	5	21
Elsewhere in Sussex	8	14	2	8
Elsewhere in England	24	41	4	16
Abroad	8	14	0	0

FIGURE 1.

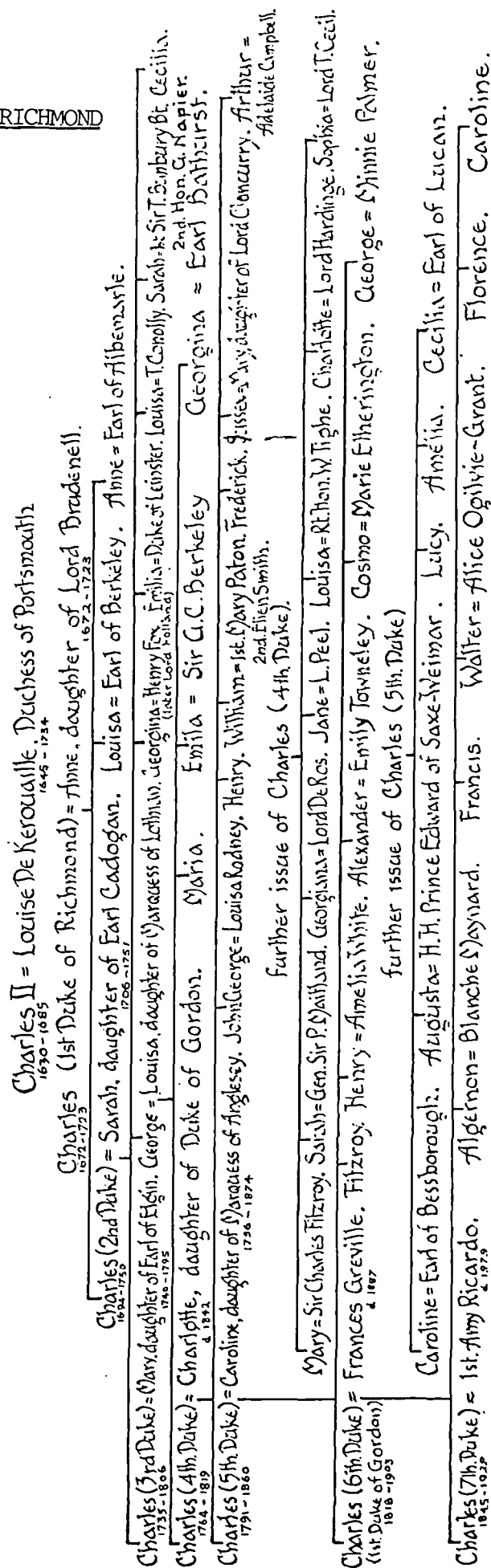
MAP OF SUSSEX



SOURCE: M.A. Lower, A History of Sussex, 1871

FAMILY TREE OF THE DUKES OF RICHMOND

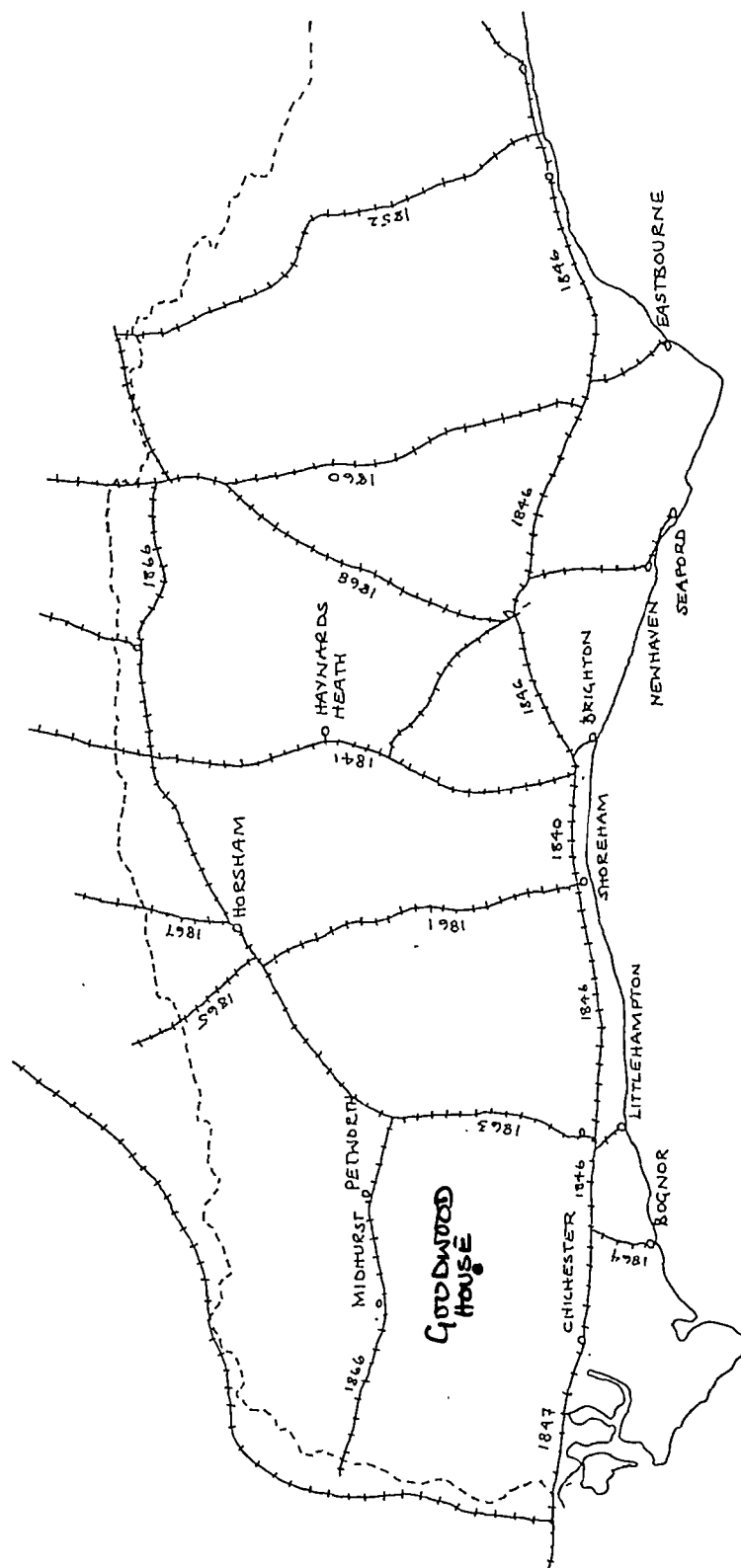
www



Map to show the general location of the Goodwood Estate in relation to the contemporary railway network.

Sources: J. Lowerson, *Victorian Sussex*, 1972; D. Marshall, *History of the Southern Railway*, vol. 1, 1963.

The dates given are those of completion.



10 miles

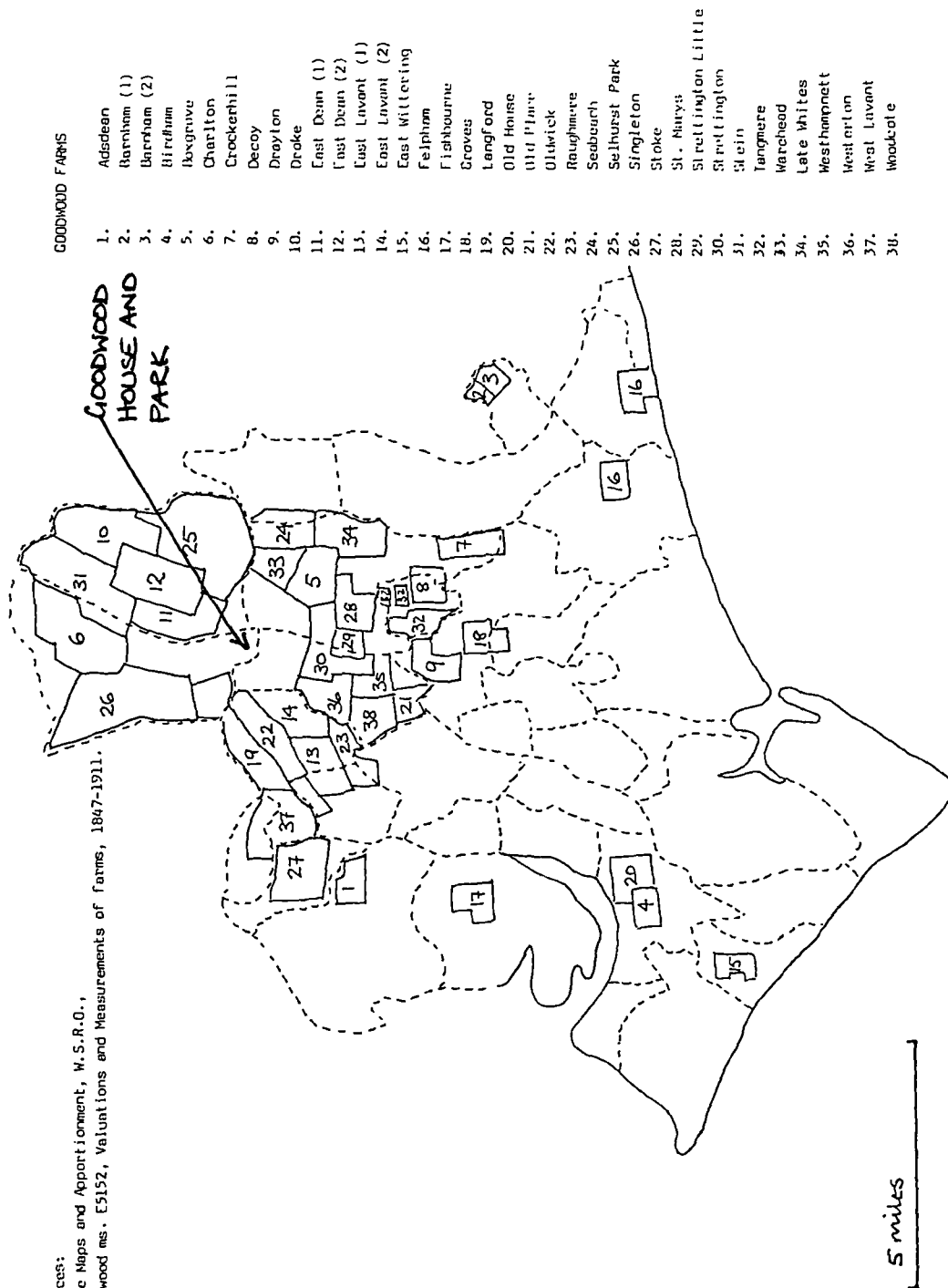
Figure 5

Map to show the principal farmsteads on the Goodwood Estate in the 1850s.

Sources:

Tithe Maps and Apportionment, W.S.R.O.,

Goodwood ms. E5152, Valuations and Measurements of Farms, 1847-1911.



SECTION ONE
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

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